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ABSTRACT

Thirty-nine articles provide a composite picture of American education as it has developed during the past 200 years. Most of the articles are written by educators. Vignettes of daily routines in a one-room schoolhouse in 1775 and a description of how a log college was built in Pennsylvania in the 1770s indicate the process and philosophy of education at that time. The struggle of women for equal rights is documented by articles about issues and significant women educators in the 18th century as well as the 20th. Education of immigrant groups, minorities, and handicapped children is discussed. Changes in school building structure from the one-room schoolhouse to the modular open classroom reflect changing theories about the nature of the educative process. History of land grant colleges and community colleges is traced, and the roles of nonpublic schools and libraries are explored. Several articles examine curriculum--arts versus science, career education--and methods of presentation such as textbooks, audiovisual instruction, cartoons, and lyrics. Recent concepts such as accountability and lifelong learning are explained. (AV)

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A NATION OF LEARNERS

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IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

At the time they were affixing their names to it, the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence quite naturally felt that the most noteworthy of the four distinct elements of that remarkable document was its conclusion, wherein they formalized their awesome decision to "publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States. . . ."

The second most important section in their view, since they had learned the uses of propaganda, was the lengthy list of "injuries and usurpations" allegedly perpetrated by "the present King of Great Britain." Judging from discussions that took place prior to the climactic event, there was special interest also in the preamble and its reference to "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God," a proposition that John Adams had in particular championed. Which leaves the section immediately following the preamble, beginning with the ringing words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident. . . ."

Today, as we celebrate the American Revolution Bicentennial, we would reverse this ranking. Independence is so well established as to be assumed, King George III has been superseded by more reliable bogeymen, and philosophers no longer are preoccupied by the "Laws of Nature," at least in the 18th century sense.

Meanwhile the truths that the signers held to be self-evident turned out on the contrary to be an enduring inspiration to all mankind. Time has elevated the principles of the Revolution above the event itself, and the history of the United States has in essence been a record of what has been done toward affording all citizens the "unalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These concepts did not of course spring full bloom from Thomas Jefferson's imagination. They were part of the common currency of "Nature's Law," a contemporary theory which in fact was neither law nor a product of nature, but rather a dream to be fought for. A crucial element of this dream was the assertion that as rational creatures, possessing the God given capacity to learn and to reason, men also possessed the inherent right to select their own form of government and in general to determine their own fate.

Reason, learning—what we now generalize as education—were, in short, crucial elements of the American Revolution, and the Bicentennial is thus an apt occasion on which to re-examine that aspect of our national life. Stimulation of such reexamination is the purpose of this publication. In it a number of distinguished observers provide appraisals of the past and present of education in the United States, as a starting point for considering how it may be strengthened in the future.

As critics properly remind us, the great principles published and declared in 1776 are yet to be fully realized. Justice and equity sometimes seem elusive. The pursuit of learning and other forms and sources of happiness during the past two centuries has nonetheless been an uplifting and exhilarating story.

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EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN SOCIETY

BY OSCAR HANDLIN

The Revolution marked a decisive new departure in the history of education, as in many other aspects of American culture—or at least, so it seemed to contemporaries. Previously, as the conventional wisdom then prevalent had it, the colonists had been shackled by the European past; anachronistic ideas and outmoded institutions had stifled innovation and inhibited progress. Now liberated, the citizens of the Republic would develop new modes of instruction. Free men, stimulated by the environment of opportunity, would transform every aspect of the learning process. New colleges sprouted rapidly; and the Nation buzzed with schemes for improvement nurtured by confident expectations that the obligations of citizenship required a system of education capable of training the latter-day equivalents of Roman senators.

The reality, however, did not quite match the rhetoric. The intellectuals who wielded the pen in graceful essays were free and easy in their promises of the inevitable rewards of such a system. But the hard-bitten farmers, merchants, and artisans who held the purse strings were cautious indeed as they counted up the costs in increased taxes. Many a good intention withered, unfulfilled; and most of the newly founded colleges either never opened their doors or quickly closed them. Besides, a society long close to the frontier found difficulty in recruiting and holding talented teachers.

Above all, it proved not at all easy to break away from the traditions of the Colonial era. The Revolution did make a difference, not because it marked a turn in a totally new direction, but because the fruitful debate it evoked compelled people to consider what they had formerly taken for granted. The result was not a total break with the past, but a subtle shift in the pace and emphasis of development.

Well before 1776, American education felt the pressure of competing, even contradictory, impulses that continued to create cross-currents in its development for two centuries. An endlessly unravelling argument thus echoed through the decades between those who insisted that the primary function of the schools was to transmit an inherited body of culture and those who wished to focus attention on training in useful skills. The inability to make a clear-cut choice created one of the persistent patterns in the mode of learning in the United States.

From the very start, it seemed plausible to expect that the schools would preserve the European culture, secular and religious, that had crossed the Atlantic with the first settlers. The founders of the

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Massachusetts Bay Colony worried lest they and their children be left without a ministry capable of reading and interpreting God's word, as handed down in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Scriptures; and they feared also how their experiment would fare if future generations, reared in the wilderness, grew up in ignorance. The Puritans were not alone in the dread that the departure from the mother country might lead to a relapse to barbarism. The men and women who came to New Netherland and the colonies to the south shared that sentiment, although to a less intense degree, and hoped that by providing enough instruction they could head it off.

Colonial society did become more stable; but with the emergence of the 18th century, Americans still felt the dependence of provincials upon the metropolis. The most important influences in religion, science, art, and literature emanated from England, and in the New World only the school could equip young people with the knowledge and skills to receive and assimilate the developments in those fields across the ocean.

Independence, paradoxically, heightened the need. The national emotions stirred up by the Revolution prodded Americans into proving that their culture was not inferior to that of the Old World. Frenetic efforts to develop a unique literature, art, and architecture yielded an outpouring of lengthy epics, massive canvases, and ambitious proposals for great monuments. Noah Webster, for the same reason, compiled spellers and dictionaries to help define the distinctive language of his country, and Thomas Jefferson dreamed of a hierarchy of schools which would train the talented to lead the Nation.

Despite the straining for difference, however, the language of the United States retained its roots in that of England, as did the literature, art, and architecture. The desire for achievement emphasized the importance of mastery of the European techniques available to most Americans only through the formal educational system. The sciences were as important as the arts and the classics in the process of transmittal; as long as Europe took the lead in discovery and scholarship, the school was the most important means of following. Well into the 20th century, American boys and girls struggled with Latin and algebra to catch up with the Old World, and to surpass it. Large borrowings from abroad shaped the content of a good part of their instruction.

Furthermore, after independence, each successive wave of immigrants repeated the experience of the early pioneers. The attitudes of the Irish, Germans, Poles, and Jews were as ambiguous as those of the Puritans had been. All were eager to justify their departure from the old homeland by stressing the distinctive quality of the culture they would develop in the New World. On the other hand, they were equally determined somehow to transfer to their adopted country the values brought from the places of their birth. They wished their children to become American, to learn English yet also not to forget the ancestral heritage. Always the schools accepted as one of their functions preservation of the Nation's antecedent heritage. Precisely because the schools stood somewhat apart from life, were not altogether practical, Americans looked to them for performance of that task.

Yet the schools were also expected to be "useful," a function not altogether compatible with that of a repository of culture and therefore always a source of tension.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, most useful—which is to say practical—skills in the society were acquired in workshops or on farms, within the family or through apprenticeship. Only gentlemen then wished more learning than was required to read the Bible. As time passed and society became more democratic, access to the schools spread and with it a desire to alter their curriculums in more practical direction. Early on, for instance, writing schools trained young men in utilitarian arts, not only those of penmanship but also the related skills connected with the conduct of business enterprise. That made sense. Citizens who grudged a few extra tax dollars annually for the public schools willingly paid the fees to equip their sons with a fine hand or with the secrets of double-entry bookkeeping that would help in later life. In the 19th century, the same impulse led to the formation in many cities of mechanics' institutes in which ambitious young men could improve themselves, that is, acquire information that would expand their earning power. Private, proprietary, "business colleges" in time performed the same function.

Yet Americans were not content to let these eminently practical and useful subjects stand merely for what they were. Instead, an insistent trend drew together technical and traditional instruction, partly out of the democratic belief that a unified educational system ought to include all forms of learning, partly out of a sneaking respect for culture and resentment of any elite efforts to monopolize it.

The institutions supported by public funds most clearly demonstrated the process of adaptation. Urban high schools and manual training institutes and rural State universities claimed support on the basis of the utility of what they taught; their initial problem was to overcome the hostility of farmers and artisans who argued that the best way to learn was in the field by wielding a pitchfork or in the shop by swinging a hammer. It was then necessary to disclaim any pretensions to fancy courses, dead languages, and parchment diplomas. But no sooner was the building up and the appropriation in hand than the polish began. The literary and the abstract intruded into the curriculum, and the distinction between the practical and the cultural began to waver.

The standing interplay within the same system between utilitarianism and the pressures toward broad general education was distinctive to the United States. In Europe the line which led from elementary school through the lycée to the university was entirely separate from that which led to technical and vocational training. In America, the historic need to accommodate the two together influenced both types of instruction; the cultural and practical, never permitted to stray far apart, remained exposed to the question, What were they for? To that extent, the system always remained accountable to society.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the schools acquired still another function, that of classifying the students who passed through them in order to direct each to the occupation appropriate to his or her talents. Education was subtly linked to social mobility.

Until then, the family had borne the obligation of sorting out and preparing the members of the oncoming generation for their status in life. Daughters, as a matter of course, were expected to play the same roles as their mothers, and sons to ply the trades of their fathers. When the great bulk of the population was agricultural, the problem of choice had not been difficult; one generation followed another, in the same calling although perhaps in a different location. In town, also, the family was crucial; boys either picked up the parental craft at home or learned through apprenticeship in another household. Even the ambitious youngsters who wished to move into the learned professions—divinity, law, and medicine—usually did so by serving a minister, lawyer, or doctor; as late as Lincoln's time, no formal procedures for schooling in the professions were required.

Powerful social and economic forces altered the situation in the 19th century. The population never ceased to move—from East to West, from South to North, away from the country into the city, away from agriculture into industry. New machines, new sources of power, and new methods of distribution transformed the most important branches of the productive system. Apprenticeship therefore decayed,

except in a few sheltered crafts like the building trades, in which traditional techniques remained intact. In the fluid, ever-changing environment of the United States after 1870, children no longer took it for granted that they would usually follow the occupations of their parents. Kinship networks were no longer adequate, and an alternative method of finding niches for the young or of sorting them out and preparing them for future careers was essential.

Americans thrust the responsibility for performing that function upon the schools and, in the process, transformed the system of education so that it could do the job of selection and of vocational training. The schools were the appropriate instruments because they had long asserted the claim that they were useful and at the same time the conveyors of culture; they could demonstrate the validity of their claim by providing a series of filters at the crucial stages of life which would direct each individual to the station his talents deserved. The Jeffersonian view of education as an instrument for defining the aristocracy of talent to lead the Nation thus broadened into a vision of a mechanism for assigning all places in society.

The concept of the school as the testing ground for ability was in accord with the democratic impulses gaining power as the century drew to a close. It offered a means of dissolving all the relics of privilege and inherited status which limited equality of opportunity. Within the walls of the school neither family, nor wealth, nor race, nor creed would count, only merit. On this neutral ground, therefore, each person could compete without handicap in the contest for the success to which all aspired. That the practice fell far short of these standards, and that family, race, and creed still counted did not diminish the power of the ideal.

For a century, American schools struggled to adapt themselves for service as channels of social mobility. Only criteria, administration, organization, and teaching that were uniform and standard would enable them to turn out a product bearing credentials recognizable as valid in every part of the country. The old hit-or-miss days when each institution devised its own curriculum and hired whatever instructors it could afford were no longer adequate. A system developed within which the child passed through successive, clearly articulated stages to his destination. Elementary, secondary, and higher education formed a three-tiered mechanism of scrutiny, teaching, and testing, in the effort to locate ability and to direct each pupil to his or her proper role

To insure the efficiency of the process demanded professionalism of staff. Trained teachers and administrators would not only command knowledge of the subjects taught but also of the procedures for conveying the information and skills and for evaluating the progress of the students. The evolving bureaucratic structure crowded out the casuals who had formerly moved in and out of teaching, the expedients being to insist upon a defined course of preparation and to establish firm qualifications for entering upon and advancing in careers in the schools.

In retrospect, the imperfections of the system are evident. Residual biases favored some families, ethnic groups, regions, and classes at the expense of others. From the perspective of the 1970s, the conditions of competition seem to have been far from equal, and the very conception of a merit-oriented competitive process may be questioned. But viewed in the context of the era in which it developed, the educational system deserves a more favorable judgment; in a period of rapid change, it undoubtedly furthered social mobility and it inhibited stratification, thus helping to preserve in an industrial environment the open access to opportunity the frontier had provided in the rural past.

The evolving American schools after 1870 also performed another social function. Ever more often they were expected, in addition to whatever else they did, to act as agencies of acculturation and assimilation, instructing their charges in -

wide variety of modes of correct behavior, ranging in scope from the proper methods of brushing the teeth to safe driving.

All those matters of health, hygiene, manners, and morals had formerly been among the duties of the family and the church. Changing circumstances had brought them within the orbit of the school. A relatively homogeneous, largely rural society had been able to leave these concerns in private hands on the assumption that everyone shared the same communal views and attitudes. Any child, reared in any good family and any church, would learn the same lessons of duties to himself and to his neighbors. The few who did not were subject to correction and care by institutions for deviants.

These assumptions became ever less tenable after 1870. The population remained unsettled and in a fashion more disconcerting than before. The Yankees who moved from Connecticut to Ohio in 1820 carried with them family structure, style of life, and churches—not totally intact, perhaps, but intact enough to adapt to the new environment. By contrast, migrants who arrived in Chicago after 1870 found that the urban situation radically transformed all transplanted institutions. In the great anonymous, impersonal cities, conventional controls lost their binding quality, the influence of parents and churches grew weaker, and the intermixture of diverse peoples undermined the assumption that all shared the same values. Old maxims did not readily apply to the new circumstances; the tried and true injunctions to neighborliness, thrift, honesty, and respect for the rights of others did not as neatly fit the circumstances on the sidewalks of New York as they had down on the farm.

The discrepancies were most evident in relationship with the millions of European, Canadian, and Mexican immigrants. The men and women who met the Nation's need for labor seemed totally alien, babbling away in incomprehensible tongues, worshiping in strange churches, and set apart by culture, life style, and ways of thinking. There could be no assurance that the Poles, Italians, Jews, and Turks who resided in close propinquity to one another and to the native Americans could comprehend one another or coexist without conflict or disorder. Yet the children growing up in all such families were Americans; and they would some day have to deal as citizens with New World problems. They could hardly be expected to learn to do so in Old World homes. They would have to find the way through some other agency.

The plight of the children of native Americans, while less visible, was almost as grave. They too suffered from the inadequacy of the training available from their parents. As well expect the coachman to teach his sons to drive a locomotive or motor car as expect him to instruct them in the behavior metropolitan life demanded. And indeed, as authority drained away from the family and the church, parents themselves welcomed the opportunity to transfer elsewhere the responsibility for socializing their offspring.

The burden fell upon the already overburdened educational system. The schools were repositories of the sciences, which steadily displaced tradition as the source of answers to the important questions of life. To the extent that people sought guidance from medicine, economics, and sociology rather than from the memories of their grandparents, it made sense to entrust children to the institutions which conveyed these organized bodies of knowledge. The schools had the prestige, which family and church lost, to set the standards of correct behavior and thought.

Nevertheless, the schools did not threaten the diversity characteristic of society in the United States. No single group had the power through them to impose its preferences upon the others. Neutrality was a political necessity of public educational systems which could not risk the enmity of any bloc of voters; and dissenters, anyway, always had the option of founding private schools of their own. As a result, deviant views were generally tolerated, even if not accorded complete

equality. Administrators and teachers had to balance the certainty that they knew what was good for their pupils against the need for taking account of the variety of views in a pluralistic society.

The efforts of American schools to meet the needs of a rapidly changing and expanding country were only partially successful. The obstacles were immense: everything had to be created afresh; despite the wealth of the country, resources for education were usually meager; and the dispersal of control among many local authorities left no one in a position to define the central goals of the system. Since, in addition, the teaching career in the United States did not customarily attract the most talented, the shortcomings of the schools were hardly surprising. But their achievements were nonetheless impressive, without parallel in the modern world judged by the vast population served, the variety of functions performed, and the social needs met. With all its imperfections, the system of education made significant contributions to democracy in the country within which it operated. □

acked between a thin boa... and a sheet of clear horn were the major materials of Colonial elementary education—the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer. The "hornbook," as this simple wooden text was known, was often the only instructional tool available to primary school children of the period. Once they had mastered its fundamentals, young scholars progressed to catechism lessons, abandoning their hornbooks to younger brothers and sisters; and, because of the resilience of their design, hand-me-down hornbooks endured childhood after childhood, until mass printed readers and more elaborate teaching materials made them obsolete. □

Hornbook of the Eighteenth Century.

Master Dove's One-Room School

"There he is! The Master's coming!" Jeremiah Gladstone abruptly reversed his direction, abandoned the squirrel he had been chasing, and dashed toward the schoolhouse. Following 35 or so other boys of assorted ages, sizes, and backgrounds, he neatly vaulted the two-foot wooden fence, ran up the path, and pushed inside the door of the one-room, wooden building. The year was 1775 in the Massachusetts Colony, and Jeremiah Gladstone was nine years old.

Once inside, the boys wasted no time in finding their seats, for Master Dove was not noted for dealing kindly with tardy pupils. The Master arrived promptly at 7 a.m. in the spring and fall and 8 a.m. in the winter, and he expected to see his students in their seats when he arrived. Jeremiah was not interested in incurring the Master's wrath, so he wedged himself onto one of the backless benches in the first row, on the side of the room.

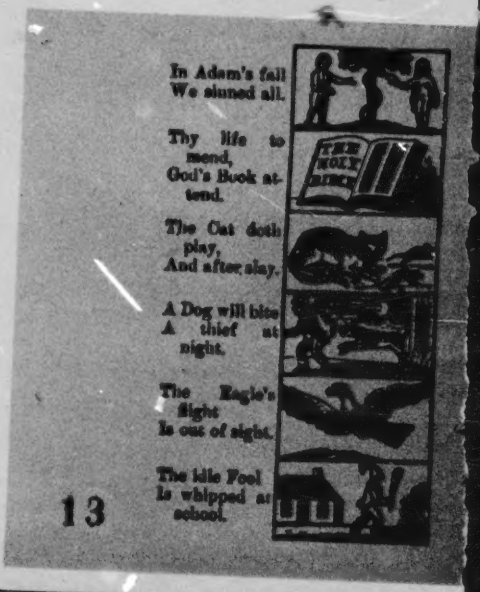
There were two rows of pine benches on three sides of the room, facing the huge, pot-bellied stove in the center. Behind the benches, against each wall, there was a continuous, sloping shelf at waist level which the older students used — as a support to lean against while they were studying, and as a desk while they were writing. There was a narrower shelf under it on which they could store their books and supplies. Within the square of the outer benches, there was a line of lower benches for the smaller children. The space in the middle of the room served as a kind of stage for recitations.

The Master's desk was in the front of the room, next to the door. Jeremiah knew that inside that massive piece of oak were the tops, balls, marbles, and other forbidden items which Master Dove confiscated from his pupils with uncanny regularity. Just yesterday, Jeremiah himself had been the victim of the Master's quick hand, and had lost the prized penknife which his older brother Thomas had entrusted to him last summer. He had promised to guard it while Thomas was away at college in nearby Cambridge, and Jeremiah dreaded disappointing his brother.

While he brooded, the din in the classroom mounted to an earsplitting pitch. Then suddenly it stopped, and the room became silent. Jeremiah dragged himself out of his miserable reverie and waited expectantly for Master Dove to march through the door. As usual, he prayed that one of these days the Master would arrive having been transformed the previous night into a kind, twinkling man; maybe someone like his uncle Joseph, who always had a piece of maple sugar in his pocket and could make anyone laugh.

But, alas, today was not the day, for in strode Master Dove looking rigid and sour, brandishing the dreaded, ever-present ferule, with his three-cornered hat riding majestically atop his impeccable gray wig. Even his worn gray silk waistcoat with its rows of silver buttons rode rigidly on his lanky frame, as if reluctant to flow naturally for fear of being punished.

Jeremiah found it hard to believe that the schoolmaster had been born with such a sour disposition, and he was forever looking for some sad, mystical reason for Master Dove's transformation. The lad's father, who knew a lot about most things and didn't put much stock in sad mysticism, said that Master Dove was probably "of a sour bent" because he had to work very hard, not only teaching his



pupils but also helping to maintain the school building, for which he was paid only £30 per year. Jeremiah thought that was a lot of money to pay such a crotchety person.

"Good morning, Master Dove," chanted the boys in unison, at no seeming cue other than the Master's arrival at his desk. He peered over the top of his square, tortoise-shell glasses, and gazed at his charges who shifted uncomfortably against one another.

Jeremiah knew by heart what the procedure for the day would be. It would start with the "first class" (the oldest boys) reading from the Scriptures. Then would come the thawing and watering of the ink, in preparation for writing, which consumed a major portion of the morning. Not a meticulous person by nature, Jeremiah didn't care much for the discipline involved in copying for page after page such phrases as "Contentment is a virtue" or "Procrastination is the thief of time" — two of Master Dove's favorites — until he had mastered the letters. He was consoled, nevertheless, by his fascination with the ink he used and the process of ink-making that his father had taught him when he started going to school. Together they had gathered the bark of swamp maple and boiled it in an iron kettle to give it a more perfect black color. When it thickened, they had added copperas, or green vitriol to it. Jeremiah loved to dip his quill pen into the ink and make huge swirls on his paper, but he knew that paper was scarce and must not be wasted.

After writing, it would be the turn of the second class to read from the Scriptures, and then the turn of Jeremiah's class. After that, the smallest children would be called out to read a sentence or two from their reader, the *Hornbook*, since they were not yet ready to read from the Scriptures.

Jeremiah still had his *Hornbook*, which really wasn't a book at all. It was a thin board on which was pasted a printed leaf containing the alphabet and some short sentences. This was covered with a thin sheet of transparent horn to protect it from the invariably dirty fingers it would fall prey to.

Promptly at half past ten each morning the boys were allowed to go outside for a short recess. On the way back inside, each child was permitted a drink of water from the pail near the door, but Jeremiah was always one of the last ones back inside so he generally got only a longing look at the water, and a menacing look from Master Dove.

The rest of the morning was spent working on spelling, and Jeremiah liked to make this part of the day into a game. While Master Dove read out words from the handsome *WATTS Compleat SPELLING-BOOK*, and then waited as the class spelled the words out loud, Jeremiah tried to see how often he could be the first to finish.

And then it was time for lunch. Jeremiah walked the half-mile home for lunch with his cousin George, who was 11 and in the first class, and George's brother Matthew, who was seven and, to Jeremiah's mind, a hateful pest. Jeremiah wished his own brothers were closer to him in age so they could walk home from school with him, but Thomas was 15 and studying at Harvard College, and Jabez was only three. Nearer his own age were his two sisters, ten-year-old Abigail, and Rebecca, who was eight and his favorite. Their days were spent at home with their mother, learning how to cook and sew, because as Jeremiah's father rightly said, "A gentleman has no interest in an educated woman." Jeremiah thought that this made sense because most girls were silly anyway, although he recently overheard his parents saying that some of the daughters of the townspeople were attending school for a couple of hours each day after the boys went home. Supposedly the schools were built for everyone, rich or poor, and to some people that even meant girls. Abigail and Rebecca, however, took dancing lessons instead because their parents thought that was more important.

After lunch, Jeremiah returned to school for the afternoon, which commenced with each class reading out loud in turn from *The New England Primer*, an 88-page, 3 1/2-inch by 4 1/2-inch leather-bound book which, except for some spelling lessons and an occasional illustration, didn't hold Jeremiah's interest. He knew it was important to learn the Westminster Catechism, but he had great difficulty memorizing the tedious questions and answers. He forced himself to concentrate on it because he knew he would have to recite a portion this Sunday in church, and he definitely didn't want to disgrace his family by not being prepared. Aside from the obvious embarrassment in church for any child who had not memorized his catechism, Master Dove's own brand of disapproval, manifested with the help of the ferule, was not something Jeremiah coveted.

When each class had completed its reading from the primer, there was more spelling, and finally some arithmetic. There was no textbook for this study, but Master Dove, like most schoolmasters, gave each boy pages of handwritten rules and problems from a manuscript sum-book which he had studied from when he was a boy. Jeremiah couldn't imagine that the Master had ever been a boy, much less one who had had as much trouble struggling with problems and sums as Jeremiah himself did.

The boys were usually weary by this time, because the day was long, and they knew it was almost five o'clock, the time that school was dismissed. The fire in the stove was waning, and Jeremiah was chilly and hungry. The dismally vacant walls and stained, gritty windows didn't do much to cheer him up, and he sorely wished there was something of interest in the classroom for him to look at. Across the room, two of the youngest boys were fidgeting and pushing each other, trying to see who would be forced off the bench and into the Master's wrath first. Jeremiah hoped that school would end before the Master caught them.

"And tomorrow, Jeremiah Gladstone will light the fire before school." Master Dove planted his hat firmly on his curls, and strode from the room. Jeremiah breathed a sigh of relief and suddenly, forgetting his fatigue, hunger, or the cold ran from the schoolhouse to find that squirrel.

—JUDITH SELDEN

Ms. Selden is a junior high school English teacher in Weston, Massachusetts.

The Log College

There were probably more axes ringing in Pennsylvania than there were school bells during those months in the early 1770s when the Rev. William Tennent was chopping timber out of the Bucks County wilderness for his "Log College."

The Presbyterian evangelist raised the two-story structure directly across from his church on the Old York Road at Neshaminy, about 20 miles north of Philadelphia. And in doing so he promoted a departure in higher education that outraged his more conventional contemporaries by capsulizing a spirit of egalitarianism that was to captivate the world a few decades later.

A dissident priest in the Church of England who had turned to Presbyterianism, Tennent had ridden the tide of Scotch-Irish immigration to the New World, arriving at William Penn's provincial capital on September 17, 1718, an event he duly noted in his diary:

> We landed safe at Philadelphia the head Town of Pensilvinia and was Courteouslie intertained by Mr. James Logan Agent and secretarie of all Pensilvinia.

The new immigrant quickly established his credentials with the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, but he did not tarry in the capital, at that time a community of 3,000 colonists. At the age of 45, bundling his growing family with him, he set out to spread the word of God in the New World. He traveled first to East Chatham in southeastern New York, then to nearby Bedford, and then back again to Bucks County, establishing his pulpit in Bensalem. A graduate of Edinburgh University and a gifted Latin scholar, Mr. Tennent apparently found himself becoming almost as concerned about his parishioners' lack of learning as he was with their need for salvation. In any case he took to devoting increasing amounts of his time to teaching them how to read their Bibles and catechisms. And when in the autumn of 1726 he moved south to a little settlement on the forks of Neshaminy Creek, he built not only a church but a school as well.

Mr. Tennent sensed what seemed to be an American compulsion to constantly move westward, he saw how relentlessly the wilderness was being pushed back toward the Allegheny Mountains, and he concluded that the Middle Colonies could not wait for new preachers and teachers to come in from the mother country or down from the New England colleges of Harvard and Yale. Although his initial motivation for building his school was a determination to educate his sons for the Presbyterian ministry, the logs were hardly chinked before he had decided to accept other young men interested in that calling or in becoming teachers.

His church at Neshaminy was opened for services in the summer of 1728, and so—probably to the astonishment of the backwoods villagers—was a structure which one observer remembered as being "about 20 feet long, and nearly as broad," located on the Old York Road. "In it," wrote the Rev. George Whitefield, a visiting evangelist from England who preached at Neshaminy in November of 1739, "the students spent most of the day and lodged at night with families in the vicinity."

By the time Mr. Whitefield arrived at Neshaminy, as noted in his *Journal*, subsequently printed by Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Tennent had dispatched "seven or eight" ministers into the field. "More were almost ready to be sent forth," he added, "and a foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others."

By that time also the primitive institution was being called a "college"—in scorn and derision, born of apprehension, by certain critics of an aristocratic turn of mind. Not only did it fail to provide the range of courses offered by such "real" colleges as Harvard and Yale, they said, but even worse it admitted young men whose humble backgrounds demonstrated that they were not college material.

Mr. Tennent himself made no pretensions. He did not award diplomas, for example, and there were no formal graduating ceremonies. His curriculum was nevertheless no snap. The students were trained in elocution and forensics, they read the classics, and they studied Latin, Greek, some Hebrew, moral philosophy, and theology. Thus armed they proved to be able fomenters of a new egalitarianism in higher education, spreading the "log college" movement to other regions in the Middle Colonies by establishing similar institutions. Among them: Fagg's Manor, opened in 1739 in Pennsylvania's Chester County by Samuel Blair; Samuel Finley's school in Maryland at Nottingham, Cecil County, in 1744; and Robert Smith's at Paques in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1750.

Their graduates in turn carried on the work. Dr. Benjamin Rush, a product of Samuel Finley's school who was to become a leading figure in the Revolution and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was active in founding Dickinson College. John McMillan, an early minister in western Pennsylvania, graduated from the Paques school and in turn set up a log college in the Redstone country of southwestern Pennsylvania. And Samuel Davies, who was graduated from Fagg's Manor, became the fourth president of the College of New Jersey. Messrs. Blair and Finley and two of Mr. Tennent's sons had in fact helped to charter this institution (it was later to be known as Princeton University) which enrolled its first students in May of 1747.

That was one year after William Tennent died at the age of 73. He had left his mark.

—WALTER WOOD
Associate Editor, *American Education*

AMERICA'S UNSYSTEMATIC EDUCATION SYSTEM

BY PATRICIA ALBJERG GRAHAM

The American "system of education" is an organizational nightmare but a functional triumph. It nearly defies explanation as a coherent enterprise, but persons regularly emerge from their encounters with it more knowledgeable than when they entered it. If it is to be judged on the educational attainments of the entire American public, then its success is real. However, few American institutions have suffered as much criticism, particularly in the last 24 years, as have those concerned with education.

The paradox of functional success but massive criticism raises perplexing questions about this enigmatic enterprise. Apparently it is successfully accomplishing one task while being expected to do another. Six questions seem helpful in approaching some understanding of the American educational system: What is it? What is expected of it? What does it do? Who uses it? Who runs it? and Who pays for it?

What is it? The essential unit of the American educational system (and of any educational system today) is the school—the physical plant and the organization it symbolizes. Thus, not until the latter part of the 19th century could the United States really be said to have an "educational system" as such, because until that time education had been acquired through a variety of rather haphazard methods. Children studied at home with their parents or with a tutor, or perhaps at the home of a nearby spinster or widow in a "dame school" with a few other neighborhood children, and only rarely at a building formally designated "school" and subsidized by the local community, the church, the children's tuition, private beneficence, or some combination of these. Such formal work often was supplemented by individual study, by perusal of books and local newspapers and journals, by instructional messages embedded in sermons and Sunday school programs, and through apprenticeships both formal and informal to persons who had achieved some degree of mastery of particular field.

These various ways of learning were no means mutually exclusive. Generally young person encountered several of the en route to adulthood, after which, it w hoped, learning did not stop but was ev less likely to be institutionalized than it w in youth. Undoubtedly the most univers form of instruction was apprenticeshi although most apprenticeships were not the formal variety on the English mod that prescribed certain numbers of years service to the master. Much more com was the informal variety in which youngster learned one specific skill or a f general ones simply by helping someo who had these skills. For half t population (the female half) this was t

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basic mode of learning household management. Girls helped their mothers and thereby acquired the necessary cooking techniques, simple sewing skills, and some notion of how to keep a house functioning. Later generations would be taught these topics in junior high school home economics classes.

By the end of the 19th century fundamental changes had occurred in America. Prior to that time an "educated man" in America would undoubtedly have been characterized as one with knowledge of the classics, however that knowledge was gained. Around the turn of the century the popular definition changed so that an "educated man" was one who had been to college. This shift in the public conviction about what constituted education was a crucial one, for it illustrated the belief that education had become a commodity which one got at an educational institution. The era of multiple educational possibilities had faded, and the narrower definition of education as what one learned in school had arrived. This acceptance of the schools as the pre-eminent educational enterprise laid the foundation for the American educational system, for the schools were nearly the only elements within that system until well into the 20th century.

Whether the schools were public, private, or parochial probably made little difference in terms of what the students learned. The different auspices under which the schools functioned did, however, complicate the pattern of American education. Numerically the public schools have dominated the enrollments. For most of this century about 85 percent of American school children have attended public schools. Now the figure is over 90 percent, principally as a result of declining enrollments in Roman Catholic schools, which account for 80 percent of the nonpublic school students. The remaining 20 percent of nonpublic school students are either at other religious schools (13 percent) or schools without religious affiliation (seven percent).

Some educators' fascination with the organizational differences between public and private school systems has obscured the essential similarities between them. Both cover a very broad range of schools serving the top, middle, and bottom of the socioeconomic groups in America. Both tend to serve the residential community near them, thus making individual schools relatively homogeneous ethnically and economically. Both use the same curriculum materials and teach courses in similar sequences. These similarities have been true throughout the history of American education. For example, in the early 20th century the differences between a public school located in an immigrant neighborhood with predominantly Jewish families and a Roman Catholic parochial school attached to an ethnic parish composed primarily of Italian immigrant families were not enormous, except, of course, for the addition of Christian doctrine in the parochial school. In both schools a premium was placed upon literacy and upon Americanization, and in neither was there much opportunity to mix with children of other economic or ethnic backgrounds. Today the public schools of Great Neck, Long Island, are probably more similar in curriculum and clientele to such private schools as Dalton and Fieldston, 20 miles away in New York City, than they are to public ones in Wyandanch or Roosevelt, 20 miles in the opposite direction.

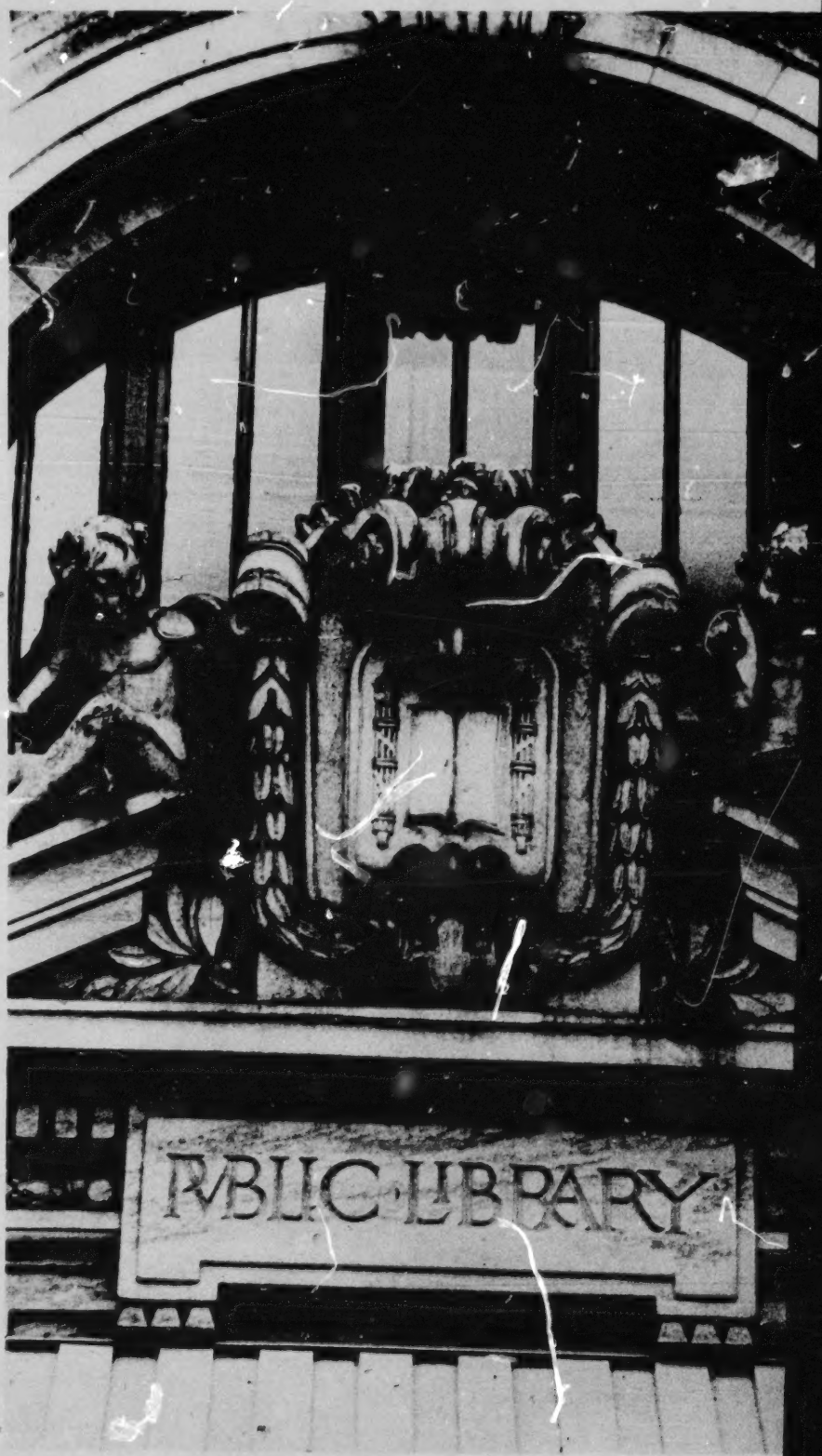
Schools, then, whether they be public or private, are the essential element in the network that makes up the American educational system. In recent years they have been supplemented by a variety of other educational enterprises, particularly television, which is likely to become even

MISS BLANCHE LAMONT 17
WITH HER SCHOOL AT HECLA, MONTANA, OCT., 1893.
No. 2. By Henry W. Brown, Custer, Whatcom Co., Washi

more important in coming years. The anticipated revolution wrought by audiotapes and videotapes has not yet occurred but it is certainly a technical possibility, although not yet clearly a psychic one. Nonschool institutions still are the chief remaining element in the educational system. Most important among these are libraries, which in this century have become publicly supported and nearly universal throughout the Nation instead of being concentrated among the wealthy and in urban areas. No longer novelties as they were at the turn of the century, social settlements still provide important educational services, as do such other pioneers as county and home demonstration agents. The list could go on, but further additions would not modify the essential picture of the American educational system as a conglomerate of local schools assisted by other local institutions.

What is expected of it? Undoubtedly the most serious problem the American educational system has ever faced is the gap between public expectations of it and its performance. A recent book on the history of American education in the late 19th and early 20th century is titled *The Imperfect Panacea*, and that is a superbly succinct account of the fate of the American educational system.

From Puritan times to the present, education has been asked to solve all kinds of religious, national, social, economic, and even intellectual problems. In the 17th century, education was intimately tied to religious salvation: Puritans believed salvation and ignorance were contradictory. By the late 18th century, Thomas Jefferson, more concerned with the problems of this life than the next, looked to education to provide the informed citizenry upon which his notions of the democratic republic rested. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization," he wrote, "it expects what never was and never will be." Concern with the republic and with the citizenry's commitment to it prompted Noah Webster to write his "Grammatical Institute of the English Language, Part I" (less ostentatiously known as the Blue-Backed Speller). There Webster tried to insure that through the widespread use of these materials, the American child would grow up with a body of patriotic allusions common to his fellows. "Let the first word he lisps be Washington," he urged. Later in the 19th century, Horace Mann preached the gospel of the possibilities of the public schools for moral uplift to a predominantly Protestant Massachusetts population beginning to face large Catholic immigration. By the beginning of the 20th century, faced with the immense numbers of immigrants, with the rapidly urbanizing and industrializing nation, and with the tremendous decline in need for unskilled labor, education had a new mission. Via the schools the nascent American educational system was supposed to "Americanize" the immigrants and t

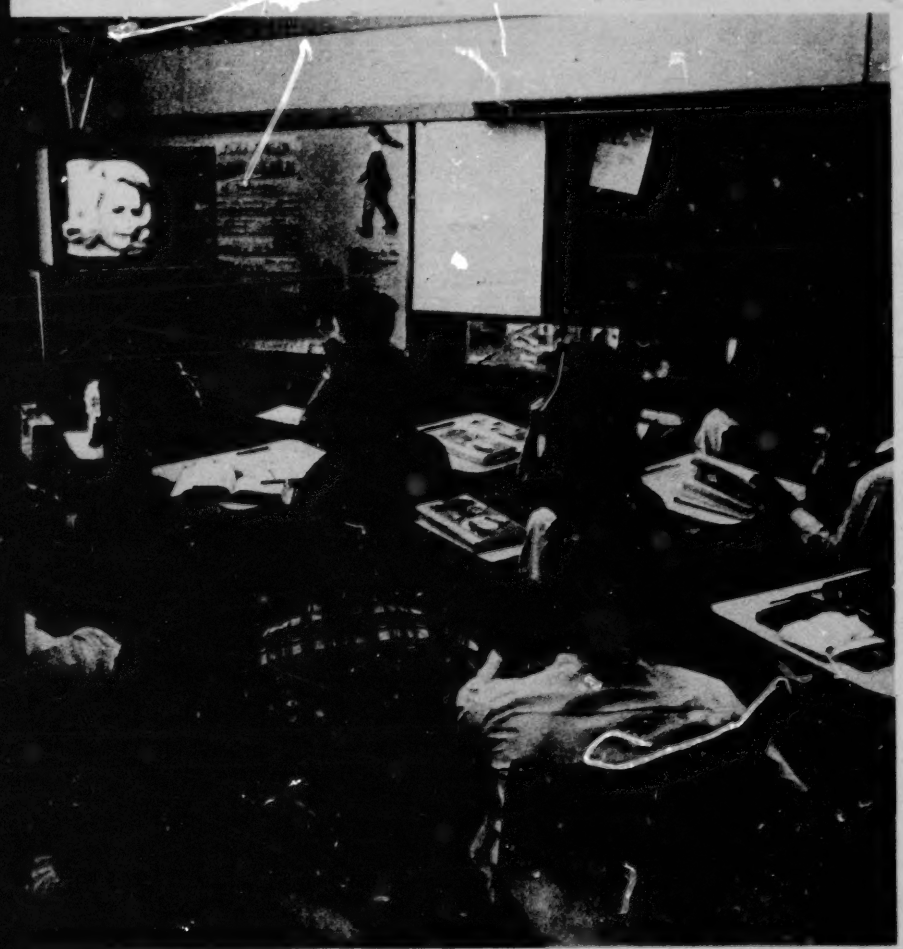


make everyone literate in English. Furthermore, it was to provide extended educational opportunities at the high school level to large numbers of children whose parents had never ventured beyond the rudiments of literacy.

Although much has been expected of education in the past, the failure of the schools or other educational agencies to meet these goals, though regrettable, was not as serious as it became in the 20th century. For the first time, literacy—and literacy at a reasonably high level—was crucial. It became very difficult to make a living without it and therefore very obvious when persons could not get or hold jobs because they did not have the necessary skills. The blame was placed on the schools for failing to educate such people properly. Accepting the Mann dogma that the public (or "common") schools brought all children together, the public asked the schools to undertake those difficult social tasks that the society had been unable to deal with itself. For example, when automobile accidents began to be a serious national problem, the solution was to mandate driver training in the schools. A more direct method of coping with the problem would have been to forbid automobile manufacturers to produce automobiles that would go faster than 55 miles an hour, or to enforce a rigid prohibition against driving after any drinking of alcoholic beverages. Only recently has any serious attention been given by manufacturers to improving the safety of their vehicles. Despite widespread acceptance of driver education in schools, auto accidents have not declined.

A far more serious example of expecting the schools to do what the rest of the society either did not want to do or found itself unable to do has been the racial integration issue. Since the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision in 1954, schools throughout the United States have been wrestling with the question of bringing together in classrooms children whose parents have never associated at work, at church, or at play. Since the schools not only were supposed to make the children literate but also to "socialize" them, it is not surprising that many parents expressed extreme reluctance to see their offspring associate with children whose parents they did not see. Again, the schools were asked to assume an impossible burden. If Americans had really wanted integration in the Fifties (and there is little evidence they did, although many *said* they did), the areas to have moved on were real estate and job recruitment.

In short, the principal expectations for the educational system have been both academic and social. Too often the social problems the school was supposed to solve have overwhelmed it so that it was unable to resolve the academic. Probably the period of most intense criticism of the American educational system came in the early Fifties at the height of the "life adjustment movement" when the critics sought more rigorous academic programs. Few today would maintain that schools are the sole place to learn how to adjust to life; that complicated task is not likely to be accomplished between the ages of six and 16. That such a program could even be inaugurated, however, is indicative of the unwieldy obligations the schools had become accustomed to accepting. In that case, unlike many of the others, they were told to lay the burden down.



What does it do? Despite the fact that the educational system has not brought justice, affluence, and personal fulfillment to all Americans, it has some remarkable achievements. To an important degree it is responsible for America's international intellectual leadership. Obviously many other nations have well-trained scholars, but none is the academic mecca that the United States is today. This has not always been true. Until early in the 20th century the United States suffered an unfavorable academic balance of trade; more American scholars studied abroad than foreigners did here. The shift came primarily as a result of the emphasis upon research at American universities in the years immediately surrounding World War I, a time that sapped the economic, spiritual, and human energies of the previous leaders: Germany, England, and France. American scholarship was also augmented considerably by the arrival of political refugees, particularly from Russia (both as a result of the pogroms and later from the Bolshevik revolution) and later from fascist Germany, Italy, and Spain. Many of these émigrés greatly enhanced the intellectual and cultural life of America, and it is to the credit of the much-maligned educational institutions that they (the universities, in particular) included many of these distinguished scholars on their faculties and enrolled many of their children as students, often with scholarships.

In addition to the substantial intellectual contribution made by these émigrés was their social impact. Until their arrival college and university faculties,

except for the Catholic institutions, had been composed typically of persons of multi-generation American lineage of Protestant background. Many of the refugees from Hitler, of course, were Jewish, and when they joined American faculties, they were often the first Jews ever to have been appointed to permanent positions. This generation of émigré Jewish intellectuals in turn helped to open the barriers for American Jews to widespread participation in American academic life. Discrimination against Catholics, always less systematic than against Jews, also diminished, but moves to bring blacks and women into the mainstream of American academic life remained for later decades.

There is ample evidence that the American educational system has done well at the top. Comparative studies with other nations show that the academically superior graduates of American secondary schools rate favorably with the top students of more selective secondary programs in other countries. What of the great mass that America attempts to educate? On the whole the degree of success with them is considerable, even though never as great as hoped. Despite the immense diversity of the U.S. population, nearly all are literate, and 87 percent of the age group five to 17 are enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools, an increase of 30 percentage points between 1870 and 1970. At the present time over half the high school graduates are continuing their formal educations. Most impressive is the fact that "streaming" (requiring students to make an educational choice, such as a technical institute, which will later limit their vocational choice) is much less characteristic of the U.S. educational system than that of any other industrialized nation.

In addition to educating masses of young people (and large numbers of older ones as well, in community colleges and continuing education programs), the American educational system has specialized in enlarging and broadening curriculum. One can study nearly anything in the United States today and receive academic credit for it. From the constricted offerings of the elementary school at the turn of the century, which typically provided an unpalatable mix of reading, arithmetic, penmanship, Bible study, history, occasionally science, and always "rote work" (memorization), elementary children today look at newts under microscopes, write their own stories, learn arithmetic with a computer, and replace history with economics based on experiences in the local stores. Even more dramatic changes have occurred in the curriculum of the colleges, where a century ago most colleges gave their students little if any choice (electives) in their entire four-year program. Today it is a rare college that requires more than freshman English, possibly some science and foreign language, and a major to be included among the 120 odd credits that make up the Bachelor's degree. At the turn of the century such languages as French or German were new additions to the curriculum and considered barely respectable academically. Today they have faded, as Greek and Latin before them, to be replaced in student interest by majors in urban studies, ecology, or psychology.

Even more dramatic curricular changes have occurred outside the liberal arts framework in the development during this century of professional schools, especially schools focusing on agriculture, education, library science, home economics, and journalism. Formerly each of these skills was learned on an informal apprenticeship basis, but now they are degree-granting programs. All these courses make up the "system."

Who uses it? The simple answer to "Who uses the American educational system?" is "Practically all children and a great many adults as well." The rate of growth of educational attendance has zoomed in this century, especially for the post-elementary group. Estimates vary, but a reasonable one is that less than five percent of the college age children were in school in America in 1900. Today over 40 percent are. Secondary school enrollments practically doubled every decade from 1890 to 1920, when they began to level off. Although much of this increase was of course due to growth in the population, more of it could be attributed to the increasing tendency for children to remain in school beyond the eighth grade.

Currently, for the first time in the Nation's history, school attendance is not growing. Segments of the educational system have experienced periods of contraction or no growth in the past, notably the elementary schools in the Thirties and Forties, which were reflecting the low birth rate of the Thirties, and the colleges in the late 19th century, which were reflecting a general disenchantment with higher education and an economic depression. At present, however, neither the elementary nor the secondary school population is expected to increase but rather to shrink, a result of the drop in the birth rate, the absence of significant immigration, and the already established pattern of full participation in the elementary and secondary schools. College enrollment predictions—which are subject to much more fluctuation, since such institutions can enroll students of all ag and since considerably less than half t eligible population has ever attend them—call for only modest gains, a these gains probably will be chiefly in t public institutions.

Statistically children from middle cl homes are over-represented in the colle population in the United States and this particularly true of male children fro middle class homes. Thus whereas wom currently constitute more than 50 perce of the Nation's population, they represe only a little more than 44 percent of t undergraduate enrollment. Bright gi from economically depressed ci cumstances form the largest category persons who might be expected to pro from college but who do not do so. T male-female discrepancy is even greater the doctorate level, where wom currently receive only about 18 percent the doctorates awarded annually. Un recently blacks did not attend college anything like their proportion in t population, but in the last few years the undergraduate enrollment proportion h come closer to approximating the proportion of the population. They a still far behind at the doctorate leve however, receiving less than one percent the doctorates awarded annually, althoug they constitute over 11 percent of t population.

If one assumes that intellectual capaci is distributed evenly throughout th population, then it is clear that the scho performance is affected by factors oth than sheer intellect. Such bas characteristics as race, class, and sex, well as such less tangible influences motivation and teacher expectatio remain important variables affecti academic success and intellectual growt Over 30 years ago George S. Counts aske "Dare the schools build a new soci order?" He had hoped for an affirmati answer, but the reply then and now negative.

Despite the disclaimer that the scho are not primarily avenues of social mobili in this country, a recent incident involvi the U.S.S.R., a nation that has made genuine effort to eliminate cl distinctions in its society, is illustrative. 1973 a group of six American profess and one journalist met in the Soviet Uni with a counterpart group there to disc domestic problems of mutual concern. the opening session each participant—th ranged in age from early 30s to mid 50s was asked to introduce himself or hers and to say a bit about family backgroun The Americans, all of whom had b educated at Harvard, Yale, or Columb represented a more diverse group in ter of family background than the Sovi

Over half of the Americans were the second generation of their family in this country, and less than half came from families who were professionals. The Soviets, on the other hand, almost unanimously came from families in which the parents had been professionals and had attended college. This was all the more unusual since the proportion of Russians attending college of their parents' generation was very small indeed. Although our educational system clearly has serious limitations as a vehicle for social mobility, it is noteworthy that the most prestigious universities in this country have not limited their enrollments, particularly at the graduate level, to children of the upper middle class.

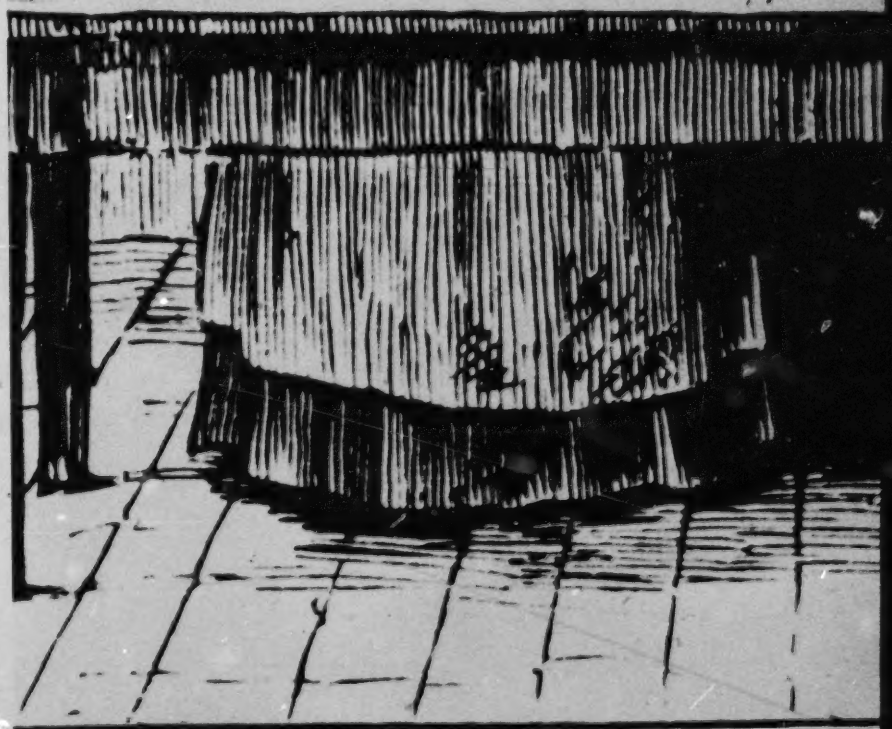
Who runs it? Two of the most distinctive features of the American educational system are related to its organization. One is the extraordinary degree of lay control that still exists in school systems in this country, and the other is the system's highly decentralized structure. Lay control through school boards and boards of trustees made up typically of community leaders dates from the time when the number of educated persons in a community was very small, and the one or two schoolmasters (or more rarely, schoolmistresses) were not regarded as among the most enlightened citizens. Until the 20th century the school teacher commonly was a young, single person (no one could support a family on a teacher's wage) either en route to a career or marriage, or when the teacher was older, a misfit for either. Such persons were not likely to inspire the confidence of the statesmen of the community, who therefore undertook responsibility for the schools themselves.

A county in central Indiana exemplifies the school board model: When the first public school system was organized in the community of Franklin in 1866, it was supplanting miscellaneous educational endeavors that had been carried on by the local Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, each of which had operated its own school at one time or another. The town fathers accommodated to the history of rivalry among the faiths by naming the pastors of the three churches as the first Franklin school board. Two years later they were succeeded by the county judge, the local doctor, and the leading Franklin merchant, a trio that looked after the schools for many years, hiring and firing superintendents of schools at two and three year intervals.

Tension between the lay boards of control and the professional educators has tended to increase during the 20th century with the growth of the professional educator group. In many large systems the professional educators making up the established, continuing bureaucracy of the school system have become the effective determinants of educational policy. Although they are nominally responsible to the superintendent of schools, this official occupies such an exposed and vulnerable position in the community that his (one can say "his" advisedly, since over 99 percent of school superintendents in this country are male) incumbency is likely to be no more than three or four years. The professional educators making up the staff of the system, on the other hand, usually are protected by tenure, and their position is therefore much more secure and their influence more sustained. Functionally that is where the power lies in a school system. Lay school boards and superintendents can enunciate all the reforms they want, but unless the teachers change their ways, nothing will happen. It is often difficult to change an experienced teacher's view about pedagogical method or children's abilities.

One of the most persistent tensions in school systems has been that between parents of school children and the policy-makers of the schools, whoever they have been. Generally parents have played a rather small role in setting priorities for the schools, and when the schools did not seem to be educating their children satisfactorily, they have complained. Such parental dissatisfaction was evident during the 1950s in the denunciation of progressive education by the Council for Basic Education, a group that included many parents who were not educators. More recently the school decentralization controversy in New York City has been marked by vivid complaints from some parents that the centrally controlled schools were not responsive to the needs of their children.

Who pays for it? The question of control of the American educational system is inevitably closely linked with the question of finance. There is very little nationalized central authority over education in the United States, and proportionately there is also relatively little Federal expenditure for elementary and secondary education. Funding for higher education, particularly for research carried on in colleges and universities, is much more likely to come from Federal sources than is support for the schools, though the latter has grown. Forty years ago nearly 83 percent of the funds allocated to public schools came from local governments, with 17 percent coming from State government and 0.3



percent from the Federal Government. Currently approximately 52 percent comes from local sources, 40 percent from the State, and about eight percent from the Federal Government. Over 80 percent of the local funds come from property taxes. As many critics have pointed out, given this structure of support, wealthy communities with high property values are able to provide better-financed schools than are poor communities. Such differences in educational opportunity have been held in recent court suits to violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, most notably in 1971 in the California case of *Serrano* v. *Priest*.

As the Serrano case illustrates, one of the striking features of the financing of the American educational system is the difference in support to be found in differing regions, a variation that has characterized the financing of public education throughout the Nation's history. Robert D. Reischauer and Robert W. Hartman have pointed out in *Reforming School Finance*, for example, that school districts in New York spend on the average more than twice as much as the average district in nine other States. Throughout the country the districts with the highest levels of expenditure are usually those found in the most prosperous suburban areas, a shift from the pre-World War I era when the city districts were typically the leaders in educational expenditures. Rural areas—particularly those in the South—have always spent the least on public education. The estimated range there for the 1972-73 school year was from $590 in Alabama, $651 in Arkansas, and $689 in Mississippi, in contrast to the figures for the three highest States: $1,584 for New York, $1,473 for Alaska, and $1,307 for Vermont.

Since the end of the 19th century, there has been considerable willingness by taxpayers to finance the schools, at least in part because of widespread faith of many Americans in the ability of the schools to provide children with helpful and necessary skills. In the last half-dozen years, however, voters have been rejecting school bond issues and budgets with alacrity. Explanations differ on the reasons for these rejections, but two issues are clearly significant. One is a demand for a more diverse financial base for public education than the present heavy reliance on local property taxes. The second and more subtle hypothesis involves citizens' loss of faith in the capacity of the schools to accomplish the many tasks assigned to them, a reaction compounded not only of a tradition of overexpectation but of certain noteworthy recent developments.

One of these arises from the fact that for the first time in American history we have reached a point where children no longer regularly receive more formal education than their parents did and where opportunities for children to do better than their parents economically do not abound. Many college-educated parents today are aghast at the lack of concern displayed by their teenage or young adult children for college or for entering the economic mainstream. Others who were unable to attend college themselves but who have worked hard so that their children could do so are similarly disturbed. Both groups may attribute their offsorings' disinterest in these opportunities to what they see as permissiveness in the schools. Such parents cannot vote against the changed culture that has in fact produced their children's attitudes, but they can vote against school budgets.

Dissatisfaction with the schools is endemic. Ever since there have been schools there has been criticism of them. It comes from parents who blame the schools for the inadequacies they find in their own children. It comes from employers who find their employees ill prepared (somehow young people were always better prepared a generation ago when the employer was young). It comes from teachers who find their students uncooperative (again, a generation ago when the teachers were young the students were better). And it comes from the students, who find the schools dull (as students always have.)

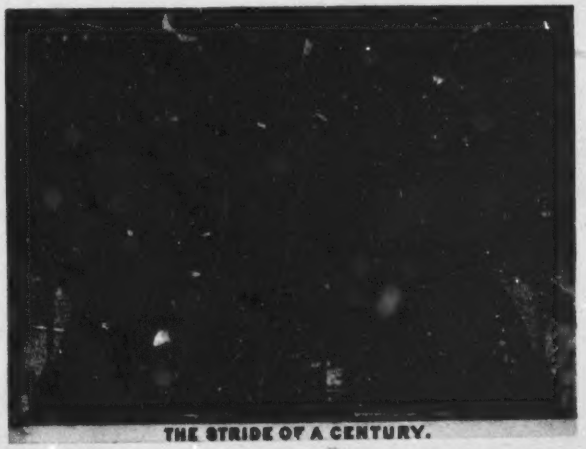
With the American educational system—as with most systems—the halcyon days always seem to be in the past. Its contemporary triumphs are often obscure, particularly to persons currently struggling with it. Since education has become so widespread in America today—and that, of course, is one of its principal accomplishments—higher proportions of Americans are directly concerned with how it fares. Many of them believe the past to be preferable to the present; what survives from the past tends to be the successes of the past, not the failures. What troubles us in the present are our difficulties, not our achievements. It is to our credit that we are dissatisfied with the present, for then our future may be even better... □

The Spirit of 1876

Never had there been such a turnout—nearly 350,000 people a month, to a total of some ten million, flocking to Philadelphia to join in the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Nation's founding.

The ostensible attraction was the Centennial Exposition, an array of gingerbread structures housing educational exhibits and displays of an assemblage of technological advances that almost defied the imagination—Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, for example, a sewing machine, a typewriter, a reaper, even an automatic baby feeder.

What really drew the record throngs together, however, was a national outburst of patriotic fervor—a spirit of uninhibited pride in America that was most accurately captured not by exhibits but in the stirring posters that flooded the land.



THE STRIDE OF A CENTURY.

The Pride

It was to be, in the words of M. Hall Stanton, "a complete exhibit of that system of common school education which is the chief foundation of our national strength."

Mr. Stanton, President of the Board of Education of the Common School System of Philadelphia, stood in his starched collar and long coat before the school board on that February afternoon almost a century ago and verbally sketched a stunning picture of what the school children of the Quaker City would prove to the Nation and to the world.

The occasion was the International Centennial Exposition, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the American Revolution, with Philadelphia as the host city. The Philadelphia schools exhibit, Mr. Stanton declared, "will be commensurate with its dignity as the most comprehensive scheme of popular instruction conducted in any city in this country."

Actually, the Philadelphia exhibit was just one among scores of Exposition attractions devoted to education, displays of one magnitude or another having been mounted by most of the States and some of the Territories, and the city was in fact the site of an international education conference held in conjunction with the Centennial observance. Parochialism being what it is, however, it was the home town exhibit that attracted the attention of the local newspapers. And in truth it was one of the more elaborate, the school board having spent the extraordinary sum of $8,500 to house its demonstartion of how far the schools had advanced in the young country that had been born amid that city's very cobblestones and red brick buildings.

There were triumphant pictures and displays of the latest in the teaching of science and the industrial arts, and even physical education. The visitor quickly perceived that a solid grounding in English literature, correct speech, and proper posture was routine among the young scholars from the Philadelphia Common Schools, and that the girls could cook and sew with the best the world had to offer.

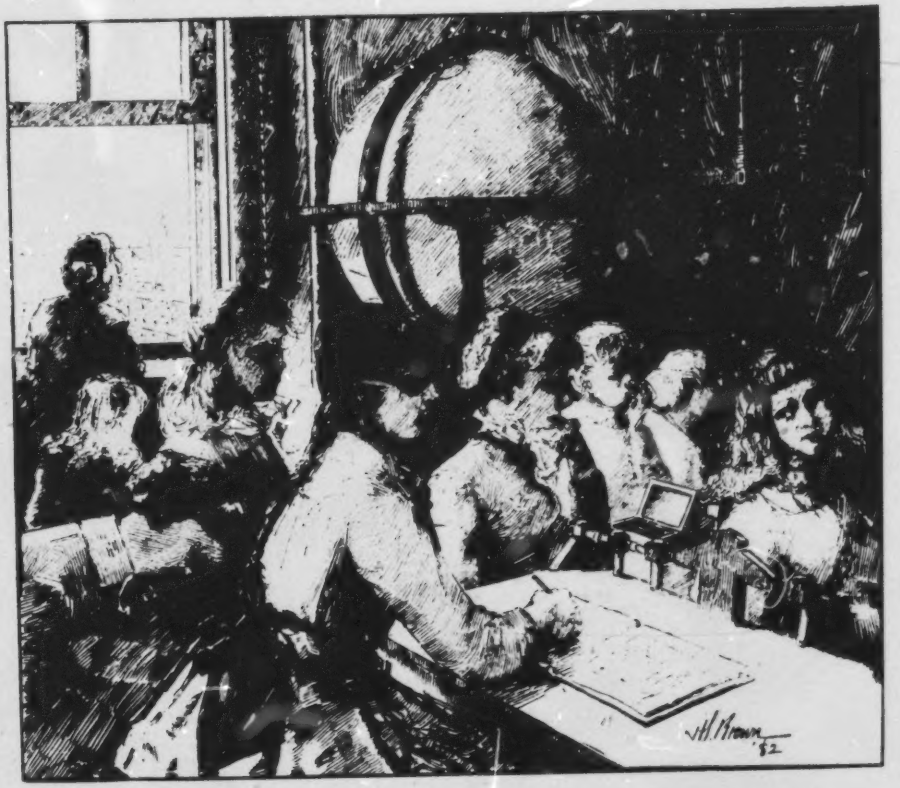
The 31 members of the school board took considerable satisfaction in putting this kind of foot forward to visitors not only from throughout the United States but from many foreign countries as well. In doing so, however, they were compelled to ignore a crisis or two and to sweep various problems under the rug, for in Philadelphia as elsewhere in the Nation in 1876, education suffered its trials as well as its triumphs.

The most convulsive problem, aggravated by the lingering effects of an economic depression, arose from what the board regarded as the unreasonable stinginess of the city's Common and Select Councils, which controlled the purse strings. So tight was the situation that construction of scores of needed additional schools had been indefinitely postponed—leaving, in the words of Board President Stanton, 20,000 school-age children "running wild in the streets, growing with years in wickedness, and recruiting the strength of the army of the depraved." In the existing schools, meanwhile, the teacher-pupil ratio was 50 to 1, and Philadelphia teachers were paid an annual salary of $486.14, in contrast to the handsome yearly stipends of $814.17 in New York and $973.35 in Boston. The result was loud complaint and heavy turnover of teaching staffs. At one point the Common and Select Councils flatly refused to pay the salary of Professor August Perrot, who was in charge of the system's music programs. Board members scored the town fathers, but the professor took the more pragmatic step of filing suit, and funds to pay his salary were somehow found. The Board was unable to scrounge enough money to pay a superintendent of schools, however, so the city limped along without one until 1883.

The school system was meanwhile run lock, stock, and patronage by the central board of education and by 31 sectional boards established in a wave of enthusiasm for the concept of decentralization. The latter bodies, elected by the voters of each of the city's 31 political wards, had total control not only over the hiring of every employee but over the day-to-day operation of the schools in their jurisdictions. Critics railed in vain against "31 little independent forces now each pulling its own way."

One teacher, according to a magazine report, complained that when she attempted to correct a pupil's pronunciation of the word "piano" the boy retorted scornfully: "My pop says 'pyanner' and he's a school director." Impressed by this logic, and wanting to keep her job, the teacher settled for "pyanner." The situation was not eased, one observer pointed out, by the persistence of voters in choosing owners of saloons to fill the regional councils. A saloonkeeper "may be an admirable

# of Philadelphia



person," this critic declared, but few display any qualifications to serve "as a guide for teachers, a chooser of textbooks, a manager of school experditures, an authority on school methods, (or) an arbiter of the destinies of education."

Not that the central board was above reproach. On November 28, as thousands of persons were flocking to the Centennial Exposition grounds to see exhibits of "the foundation of our national strength," the president of the Philadelphia Common Council was declaring in City Hall, a short distance away, that the Board of Education was "the most corrupt ring that has ever disgraced the City . . . ." Money was being spent, he said, on school building repairs never made, textbooks that never appeared, furniture never delivered. When asked to produce specific evidence in court, however, he backed down, and within a few months the uproar was reduced to a grumble.

More penetrating and enduring criticism came from Eliza S. Turner, whose thoughts on humanizing education transcended the boundaries not only of Philadelphia but of her time. The schools, she said, must somehow find a way to "teach children to read without tears." In other comments that seem as much Bicentennial as they were Centennial, she made such observations as the following:

On the purpose of schooling: "If education meant simply the fixing of certain facts and definitions in the youthful mind, it would not be so much amiss; but it should mean instead the real awakening of that mind and the strengthening of its own capacities for acquirement. It is the larger part of our business to make the pupil want to learn."

On innovation: "Newer and better methods of the day are supposed to be taught, but these newer ways very seldom get into the classroom. The young teacher goes from her practice to her school and settles down to the daily grind of memorizing."

About tests: "The aim of examiners should be to discover the general development of a child's intellect, rather than the number of unassociated facts, dates, and rules which he has succeeded in memorizing."

As a matter of fact, many other comments about education that found their way into print in 1876 have a 1976 ring to them, too. Thus School Board President Stanton on dropout: "The practical fruits [of this persistent problem] are to be seen in the criminal calendars all over the country, and the expense . . . is to be estimated in the appropriations for sustaining police, criminal courts, jails, and almshouses, to say nothing of the dens of vice and crime in perpetual existence." A teacher on the rigidity of the formal classroom: "How much of the time which should be employed in actual teaching is wasted in the mere effort to keep order. Discipline must be maintained so unnatural, so irksome to a healthy child, so almost brutal in its exactions, as to irritate and demoralize the pupils, to weary and unnerve the teacher, and to abstract an immense proportion of time from the true object of the school." And Ms. Turner again, this time anticipating the concept of career education: "We know that man cannot live by textbook education alone, yet we see not where he is to learn the art or trade by which he must earn his bread. As the times change we must change, or suffer disaster."

In short, the process of looking back to a century ago contains a strong dose of *deja vu*. Not unexpectedly, for the basic issues and goals that led to the Nation's founding, are essentially constant. Thus though the common school system of a century ago has advanced from tentative to assured, there is still a plentiful supply of problems to be solved and challenges to be met. As with the preservation of liberty itself, there will always be a need for renewal and rededication if our system of education is to remain "the chief foundation of our national strength."

—J. WILLIAM JONES

Director, Informational Services, Philadelphia School District.

The Flowering Pre-Schooler

All kinds of novel developments in education were on display at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, from demonstrations of the latest wrinkles in School of Practice Teaching techniques to modern design in pupil's desks.

One newfangled idea that attracted particular attention, since most visitors to the Exposition had never heard of such a thing, was called a *kindergarten*. So much attention did it draw, in fact, that an enterprising photographer made it the subject of a stereopticon slide, roughly the contemporary equivalent of being featured on a network TV news program.

The children who were part of the exhibition's model kindergarten were from an orphanage, and not coincidentally, since the kindergarten movement in the United States began largely as a charitable venture.

Its emergence also stirred up considerable controversy. On one side were the followers of Friedrich Froebel, a German educational reformer who had created the "kindergarten," as he called it, in 1837. Froebel's notion was that in the proper setting, their natural organic processes stimulated by specially designed games and other play activities, children would blossom more or less on their own — like plants in a garden — the role of the teacher being in effect that of admiring onlooker.

On the other side were those who took up Froebel's creation but gave short shrift to his premise, among other things adding book-learning to the agenda and giving the teacher a more direct role in cultivating the children's intellectual growth. This new form came to be called the *American kindergarten*, to distinguish it from the German original.

The steadfast Froebelians heatedly rejected the New World departures as "ignorant imitations and perversions." The deviationists scoffed at the Froebelians as being impractical and wrong-headed. Though muted by now, in preschool education circles the controversy over Froebel's theories still persists 100 years later.

Meanwhile, this dispute aside, the kindergarten has established itself as a standard aspect of the American education system, although most of the early ventures were operated under private and not necessarily "educational" auspices. Even prior to the Centennial, in 1873 the city of St. Louis had included the kindergarten as part of its public school program, and by the turn of the century many other cities were following suit.

Kindergartens are today maintained by more than 70 percent of the public school systems in the Nation, enrolling nearly 2.6 million of the more than three million youngsters who are today participating in public and private preschool programs.

—L. V. GOODMAN
Editor, *American Education*

HIGHER EDUCATION AMERICAN STYLE

BY STEPHEN K. BAILEY

A third of a millennium separates the founding of Harvard College from the American Nation's Bicentennial celebration. In that period, the number of institutions of higher education will have risen from one to nine during the Colonial period, from nine to nearly 700 during the Nation's first century, and from 700 to some 2,800 by the end of the country's second century. If one is disposed to change the nomenclature from "higher" to "postsecondary" education, the final number is shy by a good many hundreds—even thousands—of institutions, many of them run at a profit to train young people in business, trade, and service skills beyond high school. Today, higher education enrollments involve one-third of the 18-21 age group, as contrasted with two percent of that same age group a century ago, and well under one percent during the Colonial period.

Extraordinary as they are, these simple facts, alas, are not very simple at all. Even the founding of Harvard in 1636 was not the beginning of higher education in America. The original college graduates in North America were products of higher education in other lands. Before 1646, some 130 graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin had emigrated to New England. Furthermore, higher education purposes have not remained steady over time. The original functions and curriculum of Harvard were a far cry from later definitions of collegiate purpose there and elsewhere. Harvard's first commencement program stressed the founders' longing " . . . to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust." This did not mean, as Professor Samuel Eliot Morison has pointed out, that Harvard was only a theological school. The founders provided for the teaching of the arts, sciences, and good literature as well as theology. Presumably others besides clergymen could profit from the higher learning. But educating clergy was surely the essential purpose of the early Harvard, for the advancement and perpetuation of learning was inextricably intertwined with a succession of literate ministers in the churches. Seventy percent of Harvard's graduates in its first century went into the ministry.

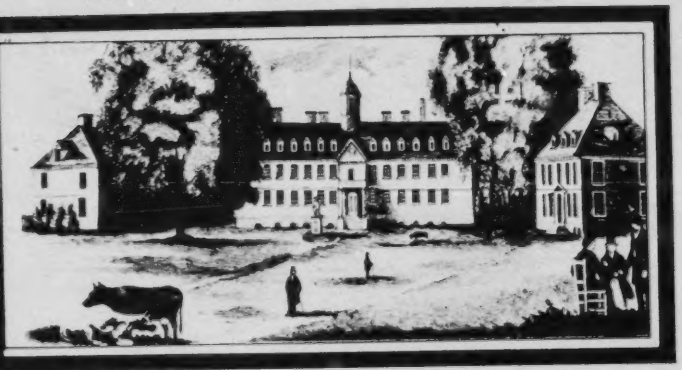
Three and a third centuries later, undergraduates in American colleges and universities preparing to be clergymen have dropped to a tiny percentage of total student enrollment. A curriculum that was once limited to Latin, Greek, and a handful of stilted arts and sciences now involves thousands of disparate course-offerings suited to almost every level of demand, taste, and interest. Giant universities, small four-year colleges, and two-year community colleges co-exist in an unprecedented profusion.

It is no easier to assess the meaning of these complex changes in higher education than it is to assign meaning to the kaleidoscope of history itself. Romantic

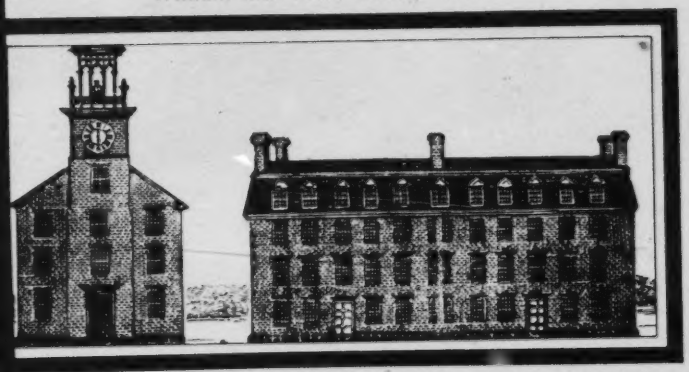
Dr. Bailey is Vice President of the American Council on Education.

The First Nine Colleges — Where Higher Education Was 200 Years Ago

Harvard College (*Harvard University*) 1636

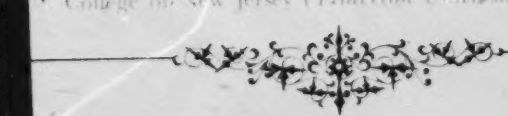


William and Mary College 1693

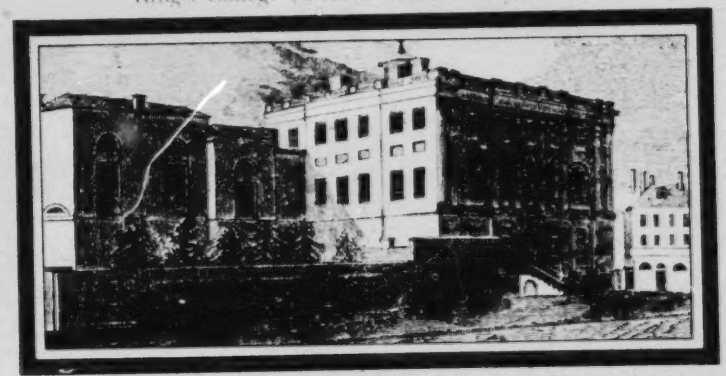


Collegiate School, and Yale College (*Yale University*) 1701

College of New Jersey (*Princeton University*) 1746

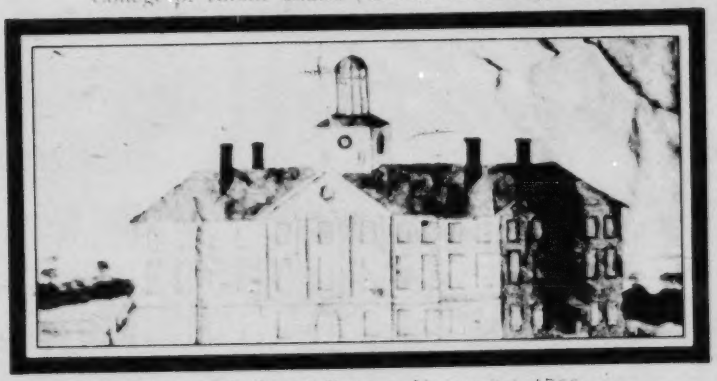


King's College (Columbia University) 1754

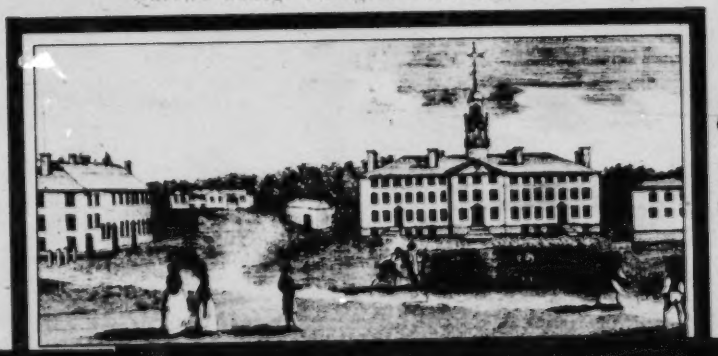


College of Philadelphia (*University of Pennsylvania*) 1755

College of Rhode Island (*Brown University*) 1764



Queen's College (*Rutgers University*) 1766



descriptions of higher education's part in "the unfolding of the American dream" are countered by Marxian "proof" that higher education has always been a weapon of the classes against the masses. The classically buttressed democratic visions of Harvard alumnus John Wise, whose *Vindication of the Government of New England Churches* in 1717 seems so pregnant with meaning for our later history, must be laid alongside the words of a speaker at an early Harvard commencement. If the fathers had not founded the College, the speaker said, ". . . the ruling class would have been subjected to mechanics' cobblers, and tailors; the gentry would have been overwhelmed by lewd fellows of the baser sort, the sewage of Rome; the dregs of an illiterate plebs which judgeth much from emotion, little from truth."

Has "Higher Education – American Style" been an affirmative instrument in defense of the values encapsulated in the Declaration of Independence, or has it been the subverter of those principles and the true defender only of aristocracies and meritocracies set upon securing their own privileges and credentialling their own fortuities?

All one can say is that the signals from history are crazily mixed. There is enough evidence of hubris and class discrimination to satisfy the cynical; there is enough evidence of *noblesse oblige* and upward mobility to give heart to the votaries of the democratic faith. In all this, higher education has remained a faithful mirror of the human condition beyond its walls. In sum, although the question of the meaning of the evolution of higher education for the development and extension of democratic values in America is a key question, it may be that no final answer is possible. The ambiguity stems from something beyond the problems of historiography created by the contending styles and revisionist compulsions of historians. The social conscience itself is a slowly turning prism. Light from the past becomes refracted by changing perceptions of moral imperatives. Was the Harvard of the 17th century a "sexist" institution? The question would hardly have been raised even a decade ago.

There is of course a way out. If we exercise our sovereign right to define our own terms, appraisals may be made of the conformity of historical developments – at least as perceived by the definer – to the definitions we have created. Let us then proceed with some arbitrary benchmarks: a personal interpretation of the meaning of certain key phrases in the Declaration of Independence in the light of current moral perceptions. For this part of the exercise, liberties will be taken with the following familiar sets of words: the Laws of Nature; All Men are Created Equal; Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; and the Consent of the Governed.

No more fundamental obligation exists in higher education than the cultivation of Cicero's definition of Natural Law as "right reason." In contemporary terms, this means the ability to think clearly, to recognize discriminating evidence, to sense interdependencies, to assess probabilities, to gauge consequences. In this sense, the Laws of Nature connote more than science and technology, although these fields of knowledge are certainly included. It is patent that the energy and environmental crises and moon-based photographs of spaceship Earth have combined to give human beings a new sense of their inextricable involvement in the Laws of Nature and of their need to exercise "right reason" if the species is to survive.

To what extent has higher education in America's past contributed to our understanding of the Laws of Nature? A superficial review of 300 years of the increasing secularization of the curriculum, and of the extension – even proliferation – of academic science and technology over the course of the past 100 years alone, would lead one to the conclusion that American higher education has been the Nation's major instrument for exposing and harnassing nature's laws. What are the glories of agricultural productivity in this Nation but a reflection of sponsored science and technology in our great Land-Grant institutions? Could we have reached the moon without the cybernetic wizardry of Norbert Wiener of M.I.T.? Would the wonders of our economy and of our technology, to say nothing of our triumphs over various forms of foul disease, have been possible without the scientific and professional contributions of our colleges and universities?

Surely, credit must be assigned to the higher academy; but it must also be rationed. Mechanical arts practiced in the garages of automotive inventors were often without benefit of academic mentors. Wily and often ruthless entrepreneurs, most of them without college experience, fueled the machinery of our prodigious economic growth. For at least two-thirds of our history, higher education was far more interested in civility and piety than in pure or applied science. Most of the hundreds of colleges that were created during the 60-year period prior to the Civil War were acts of denominational consecration and competition. Christian doctrine, the classics, and a rudimentary mathematics and science of little practical value beyond land surveying were the staples of the denominational colleges. The few challenges to tradition that emerged at places like Amherst, Union, and the University of Vermont were witheringly answered by the famous report of the Yale faculty in 1828. According to Theodore Rawson Crance in his book *The Colleges and the Public, 1787-1862*, the report was ". . . a vindication of the residential college and of the prescribed classical and mathematical course tied to a forthright statement of the moral and pedagogical objectives they were intended to achieve. The traditional curriculum was upheld as ideally suited to discipline the mental 'faculties' such as reason, imagination, and memory, and as an indispensable prerequisite to all advanced education." Not until the final third of the 19th century was this conservatism turned around under the leadership of presidents like Tappan at Michigan and Eliot at Harvard.

Even then, the introduction of the

German university tradition into American higher education, with its emphasis upon disciplinary specialization, tended to fragment nature's laws into ponderously examined smithereens. Whatever the gains in rigor, the Germanic influence in American higher education created an enormous intellectural centrifuge that tended to leave holistic concerns to the unrigorous. So university-discovered synthetic fertilizers gave an explosive growth to American agriculture at the unperceived price of killing Lake Erie; so engineering marvels facilitated the creation of the ghettoed metropolis; so, in Omar Bradley's words, "America became a nation of technical giants and moral infants." The English inheritance of classical liberal arts, with its emphasis upon the public good and the obligations of citizens, has never found a comfortable reconciliation with the ultra-specialization of advanced learning in American higher education.

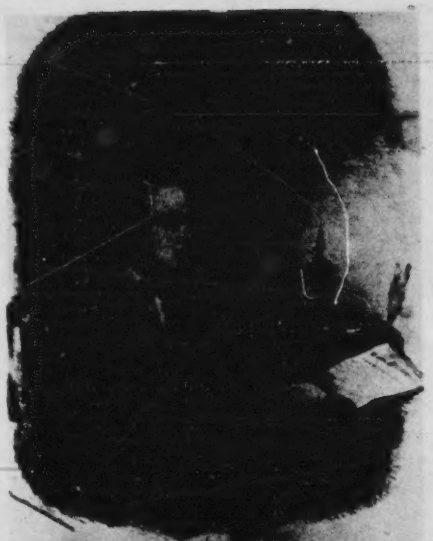
If "right reason" is to prevail in the decades ahead, if the higher laws of nature are to be understood, a reconciliation between these disparate streams in America's cultural tradition must be discovered.

All Men are Created Equal

Equality has been a major touchstone of the American dream. If it has rarely been defined clearly and virtually never honored in practice, it has continued throughout our history to disturb the slumbers of the callous and to temper the exploitations of the mighty. It has been a dynamic concept. Today, for example, the equality clause of the Declaration would surely have to be rewritten to include all "persons" rather than simply all "men." And "all" would have to be underscored.

The relevance of this to higher education is clear. For most of American history, higher education has been generally sexist and intellectually elitist. Until fairly recently, large segments of the American population have been effectively excluded from education beyond grammar school, let alone high school. Only in recent decades has the promise of higher education been a reality for a substantial portion of the population. Historical statistics tell the story.

From 1894 to 1957, the ratio of women to men attending institutions of higher education in America fluctuated between one-fifth and one-half. Even today, four men attend colleges and universities for every three women. At the higher postgraduate level, the imbalance is even greater. Roughly ten times as many men as



Sketches of College Life by J.R. Weed

THE FRESHMAN

Sketches of College Life by J.R. Weed

THE SOPHOMORE.

FRESH!
OH, FRESH!!
OH, GREEN FRESH!!!

Give heed to these RULES laid down by your elders and betters, the

CLASS OF 1903

to assist you in casting aside your robes of verdancy and, in your aping the ways of college men, to prevent you from becoming too deeply involved in the labyrinthine circumplications and multiflexuous anfractuosities thereof.

FIRST.—In every matter of college interest, FRESHMEN must render implicit obedience to all upperclassmen.

SECOND.—FRESHMEN are not allowed to disgrace the college colors by displaying them on their person until after the mid-year examinations.

THIRD.—Under no circumstances whatever will FRESHMEN be permitted to smoke pipes on the college campus.

FOURTH.—FRESHMEN must not carry canes.

FIFTH.—FRESHMEN must not wear loud or conspicuous clothing of any description.

FURTHERMORE,

We do graciously condescend to call your attention to the following:

For the sake of the propagation of a sense of medieval chivalry among FRESHMEN they are cautioned against hugging, kissing, or otherwise annoying the co-eds.

Facial appendages do not become the verdant physiognomies of FRESHMEN.

FRESHMEN are advised to keep off the grass as the similarity of appearance would render them inconspicuous.

The FRESHMEN class is expected to notify the Sophomore Class of their banquet at least two weeks in advance.

For the prevention of colic, croup, measles, whooping-cough, and sp gums among the FRESHMEN Class, we advise them to have their milk bottles sterilized at least once week.

women have received doctoral or equivalent professional degrees from American universities over the past century. For most blacks and ethnic poor, higher education has been a nonachievable goal. The situation has improved somewhat during the past decade. But the inequalities remain. A far larger proportion of whites than blacks enter college. The ratio is nearly two to one.

Measured by the experience of other nations, of course, the American story of equalizing higher educational opportunity is an extraordinary success. Over nine million young Americans presently attend colleges and universities in the United States. A group that size represents a whopping "elite" by any measure. In one sense, the term "elite" becomes meaningless when applied to the modern college generation. On the basis of enrollment statistics alone, equality of educational opportunity during the past century has increased by quantum leaps.

Alas, the story is more complex than the simple arithmetic suggests. Not only has discrimination persisted toward women and minorities, a class system has survived right through the egalitarian revolution. Not all institutions of higher education are "created equal." Tradition has given some colleges a peculiar distinctiveness; private money and the social position of the families of students have blessed these or other institutions with special prestige; accidents of leadership and State pride have made some of the great State universities "more equal" than others; of 2,800 institutions of higher education, not more than 100 or so are recognized as major centers of creative scholarship. The threats to survival of all-black and of women's colleges are real and, if they do disappear, valued options for students will be reduced still further. For millions of students, local community colleges, four-year/low-tuition public institutions, or proprietary schools are the real opportunities for postsecondary education.

Patently, not everyone can go to Harvard. But controversy still exists about what principles should determine who goes to an Ivy League college. Should academic brilliance be the sole qualification? If so, does the system not substitute a meritocracy for an aristocracy—perpetuating elitist tendencies in the social order? Should Harvard, in the name of equality, admit a random sample of high school graduates from across the Nation? On the other hand, is a lottery a useful surrogate for real equality? And if such a random sample of students competed as Harvard undergraduates, would not only the top scholars survive and be admitted to graduate professional schools, and to graduate schools of arts and sciences—enthroning an elite at a different level of education? And why not? Who would want to receive medical treatment or legal services from poorly qualified professionals?

Public policy and institutional policy are trying to thread their way through these and related moral issues. As the late Richard Hofstadter wrote in his brilliant essays for the Commission on Financing Higher Education in the early 1950s: "The United States has developed a system of mass education without achieving the goal of educational equality." The task of the future is to sort out what we really mean by educational equality, to assay its compatability with educational quality, and to develop arrangements and programs that can approximate what our most informed moral sense tells us about the contemporary educational meaning of "All men are created equal."

Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness

A strange ambivalence has always characterized America's moral posture: a stated belief in equality; a rousing defense of individual vitality. Like so many dilemmas, this one can never be resolved. Equality without individual freedom leads to a social ant heap; freedom without equality produces a vicious Darwinian jungle.

For most of our history, the search of individuals for a new life, for liberty, for the pursuit of happiness has had a real significance for an increasing number of our citizens. Blessed with enormous natural resources, and a political and economic theory compatible with their exploitation, the American Nation opened up dazzling opportunities for alert and aggressive individuals. Horatio Alger tales of rags to riches were more than fiction. They were part of the reality of national growth.

"Higher Education—American Style" has been a handmaiden of upward mobility. The intellectually promising, regardless of class status, have found far greater opportunities here for access to higher education, and for entry into prestigious professions, than in any other nation.

It is true, of course, that the classical conservatism of the pre-Civil War curriculum turned many entrepreneurial types away from the higher learning. It is also true that parts of the American population, notably agriculture, have always had a deep suspicion of "book farmin' " and "book larnin'." But by the turn of the 20th century, when Land-Grant experiment stations and extension services were conveying useful new knowledge to the farming population, even these attitudes began to change. The past half century has seen a remarkable demonstration of an increasing of faith in the proposition that higher education is an essential instrument for maximizing career choice and avocational options. When nine million young Americans incur for themselves or their parents substantial financial burdens in order to meet the expenses and the opportunity costs of higher education, someone obviously believes in the worth of the enterprise. Parents, students, philanthropists, and local, State, and Federal governments presently spend an estimated $35 billion a year on higher education.

There are, however, some disturbing portents of disenchantment. Rising costs and uncertainties about the occupational "pay-offs" of a liberal education have caused some students to switch to trade and technical schools, proprietary institutes, and paraprofessional courses taught in community colleges. High-tuition but nonprestigious private institutions are being particularly hard hit by these changing costs and beliefs, although a number of four-year residential public institutions as well are suffering drops in enrollment. After 1980, because of changing demographic trends in the Nation at large, enrollments in higher education institutions are likely to drop in any case. Unless some means are found to ease the direct financial burdens of higher education on parents and students, the drop may be severe.

Will the next quarter century see the rapid demise of our faith that the *quality* of individual lives, encapsulated in spirit by the "life, liberty, pursuit of happiness" clause of the Declaration, is somehow related to higher education? This is surely one possibility. Social institutions are not immortal. Unless they continually justify

their existences by good works, they are designed to fall by the wayside. But there is another, and more hopeful possibility: that the American people will respond to attempts by educators to improve and extend the service of higher education—that the contributions of new knowledge to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will be seen as essential; that life-long opportunities for individuals to move in and out of higher educational institutions and experiences will become a reality and will be buttressed by sabbatical leaves for education purposes for all persons; that postsecondary opportunities of all kinds will give individuals "great options" for learning within formal institutions and through a variety of flexible external study arrangements; that new forms and amounts of public support for both public and private institutions and programs will keep a healthy educational pluralism alive and viable.

Surely, these are the goals toward which Higher Education—American Style—must move.

Control of the Governed

For most of their history, American higher education institutions have been governed by lay trustees and their agents—presidents and chancellors. This is a heritage from the English tradition where colleges and universities have been governed by the faculty. The origins of the American practice seem clear. When Harvard was created, there was no indigenous corps of leaders in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As Hofstadter has put it, "Since there was no real teaching class—the fathers of Massachusetts Bay resorted to non-teachers, they created a board of overseers consisting of six clergymen and six magistrates, as the founding and controlling agency for Harvard. The group appointed the first master and attorney him the first President. This set the pattern for subsequent American college government, the Harvard precedent being reinforced by the Yale and Princeton charters of the 18th century.

Over time certain important areas of campus government—notably those involving course offerings and faculty hirings and promotions—came to be shared with at least senior faculty. In the mid-20th century, students had gained decision-making power over certain limited classes of student affairs. More recently, however, new forces have emerged that impinge upon established higher education governance: pressure to add faculty and students to boards of trustees; faculty unionization; master planning and State-wide coordinating and accountability systems over all or segments of postsecondary education in particular States; Federal requirements governing equal employment opportunity in colleges and universities receiving Federal funds; Federal policies governing the administration of student financial aid.

Looking ahead, Higher Education—American Style—is attempting to develop governance formulas less autocratic than in the past, but with the kinds of autonomies and flexibilities traditionally associated with lay trusteeships.

The struggle will not be easy. As government spending for higher education increases, legislators and taxpayers demand "accountability" for the money spent. "Accountability" wisely interpreted and humanely and sensitively imposed is an important prerogative of democratic governments. But "accountability" easily slips into overbearing bureaucratic regulations which frequently reduce themselves to mindless record keeping and to the harassment of academic life-styles into joyless and mechanical pedantry. A strange perversion occurs. The whole academic enterprise becomes "the governed" with little opportunity except through the ponderous machinery of collective bargaining to express felt demands to, or induce consent from the regulators above.

The only sure protection against this travesty is a widespread public belief that colleges and universities must be in part self-governing institutions, enjoying some of the immunities of the medieval church, enjoying the freedom to define their own mission and to bite the hand that feeds them, enjoying the heavy responsibility of searching for truth without political constraint.

For in spite of its shortcomings, the glory of "Higher Education—American Style" has been its relative independence from the suffocating surveillance of the state and from the heavy censures of privileged donors. As a result, in the early part of the 20th century, Professor John R. Commons of Wisconsin mitigated the excesses of a dominant capitalism by creating an American-style social insurance for the working class. Professor Thorsten Veblen embarrassed those who dominated the institutions he served. More recently Professor Barry Commoner has helped to reveal an ecological interdependence that has been disquieting to both private enterprise and to officialdom.

In short, a reasonably unfettered high learning permits the search for truth to go on. And in the long run, it is the truth and nothing but the truth that makes us free. □

Senator Morrill's Baby

American education has its roots in "the good earth."

From Colonial times through the 19th century, with what seemed an abundance of open space and a shortage of other forms of capital, governments at every level used gifts of public land to encourage and support the development of education in each of its aspects – elementary school, secondary school, and all the major branches of higher learning.

Of the many types of institutions aided by grants of land, one became uniquely identified in the public consciousness with this method of aid: The national system of Land-Grant colleges and universities, represented by at least one college or university in each State and Territory together with the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. These institutions – ranging in size from Langston University in Oklahoma, with an enrollment of some 1,300, to the multicampus University of California and its enrollment of nearly 150,000 – owe their identity to the Land-Grant College Act of 1862 (frequently known as the First Morrill Act after its sponsor, Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, and to distinguish it from the Second Morrill Act of 1890), a piece of legislation that was to become a landmark not only for postsecondary education but in the advancement of democratic principles. In a massive study of public higher learning done 90 years after the 1862 Act had come into being, the Council of State Governments said: "The passage of the First Morrill Act of 1862 jolted American higher education out of the familiar paths it had followed for two centuries . . . ."

Behind that shakeup was a growing awareness, climaxed as the United States approached the 100th anniversary of its founding, that American higher education was out of phase with the Nation's needs. Population was increasing rapidly, but college enrollments were actually declining. Young Americans interested in advanced training that would enable them to contribute more fully to the discovery of new knowledge in the natural sciences – and its application through technology – frequently turned to the universities of Europe, and particularly of Germany. As one critic put it, the existing colleges served five percent of the people – those seeking a literary education or to enter the traditional professions of the law, the ministry, or medicine – but offered little for the other 95 percent.

It was nevertheless true that important initiatives in adapting to the needs of the times had been launched. The founding of West Point in 1802 and Rensselaer in 1824 were highly influential pioneering ventures in technical education; schools of science had made their appearance in a few of the older private universities; and several States had established colleges and universities offering instruction in science and technology, including early "agricultural colleges" such as those of Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Iowa. As early as 1842, moreover, the U.S. National Agricultural Society called for use of Smithsonian funds to found a national agricultural school. Its successor, the U.S. Agricultural Society, furnished a continuing forum in which individuals and groups could bring to a wider audience their proposals – including the "Illinois plan" for an "industrial university" for each State, to be endowed by grants of land from the public domain.

Out of all these discussions, initiatives, and proposals came what proved an acceptable "Federal" solution, nationwide in its application. Its Congressional sponsor was Justin Morrill, then a Representative, later for decades a U.S. Senator from Vermont (where he was one of the founders of the Republican Party). Undaunted by President Buchanan's veto of a bill he had introduced earlier – passed by Congress in 1857 – Morrill tried again following the election of Abraham Lincoln and the withdrawal from Congress of many opponents of national aid to education on "State's Rights" grounds. His revised bill was signed into law by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862 – a remarkable act of faith at a time when the very existence of the Nation was uncertain.

This Act offered to each State 30,000 acres of public land for each member of Congress from that State, the land to be sold and proceeds invested as a permanent endowment for at least one college designated by the State legislature. This college would be required to stress "agriculture and the mechanic arts," the latter term usually interpreted as engineering, and to offer courses in military tactics – a provision added by Morrill as a reaction to the gross lack of trained leaders for Union armies at the outbreak of the Civil War. But Morrill's charter for the Land-Grant institutions was much broader than a call for stress on science and technology and in particular agriculture. His bill specified that "other scientific and classical studies" *should not be excluded*, a provision he later interpreted as meaning that these other traditional subjects *must be included*. And the great objective was stated as being "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

To answer fears of Federal control, the Act specified that instruction should be given "in such manner as the legislatures of the several States shall respectively prescribe." Annual reports on the use of funds from the Federal endowment were required, but so long as they were used for the broad purposes specified, no Federal intervention was involved.

Several factors slowed early development. One was the lack of funds for instruction. In accepting the terms of the Morrill Act, the States had recognized that funds would not be made available to underwrite the costs of buildings and equipment, but many had assumed that other costs would be covered by endowments created by the sale of the land they had been given. There was no real market for land, however, and the States could not wait for prices to increase. The result was that the revenues they actually received were in most cases far too small to cover an instructional program sufficiently substantial to carry out their missions.

Another problem arose from the fact that collegiate instruction in agriculture was taken largely from the traditional methods of "good farmers." Lacking was a basis in scientific research for improved agricultural practices, and for effective instruction in those practices. In response, the Congress in 1887 passed an act sponsored by Representative Hatch of Missouri authorizing annual

appropriations to repair this defect, a move that was to produce major benefits. Research under this and subsequent acts not only was an essential factor in the remarkable increase in productivity of American agriculture which has made it possible to feed and clothe increasing millions with fewer numbers of farm workers, but as educational historians point out, it became a crucial stimulus to the establishment of research as a major function of the American university.

In 1890 Senator Morrill again came to the aid of "his" colleges with the Second Morrill Act, authorizing permanent annual appropriations for instruction in the State-designated Land-Grant institutions.

In identical language, Senate and House committee reports on the bill said: "The passage of this measure, which is introduced by the distinguished father of this system of colleges, will place them on a sure foundation as long as we are a Nation and link his name with theirs in one common immortality."

A provision of the 1890 Second Morrill Act in effect gave to the States the option of either barring racial discrimination in colleges receiving Federal funds under the act, or of establishing separate colleges for Negro and white students and dividing the funds "equitably" between them. For this reason some of the Land-Grant institutions which admitted only black students prior to the banning of racial segregation in education are sometimes referred to as the "1890" colleges, though the reference is incorrect in the strict sense, since several of the institutions involved were in fact founded under the 1862 Act.

Today there are 71 Land-Grant institutions – one in each of 33 States, Puerto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands, and District of Columbia, and two each of 16

Southern and "border" States plus Massachusetts where the State university and M.I.T. share instructional funds.

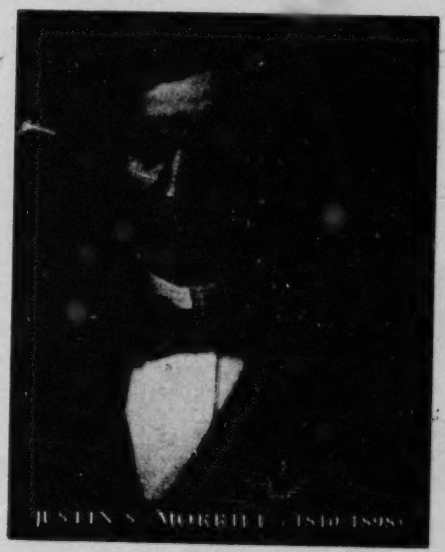
A third major Federal act affecting the Land-Grant system, passed in 1914, created the Cooperative Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant institutions, with the mission of carrying the results of research in agriculture and family life into practice on the farms and in the homes. This educational service – financed by a combination of Federal, State, and local and private funds – today reaches millions of families in rural, suburban, and urban areas annually (including more than five million youngsters in the 4-H Club movement) and is represented in virtually every county of the United States.

Several privately controlled colleges and universities bore the Land-Grant designation under the Morrill Act, and some still do. Yale, Brown, and Dartmouth were for varying periods Land-Grant institutions, for example; Cornell has been the Land-Grant institution of New York from its founding, and in Massachusetts the private Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the State-operated University of Massachusetts have shared the designation for more than a century. In Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey existing private institutions were given the Land-Grant designations. With time these assumed a substantial identity with other State universities, though some are technically of a mixed public-private character.

Viewed in the perspective of history, the great virtues of the Land-Grant College Act would clearly include its ambiguity, its diversity of purpose, its omission of any tight "set of rules" as to purpose and method of operation so characteristic of later legislation in the field of education. The consequence has been an affirmative rather than a negative revolution in higher education. The institutions involved were required to emphasize hitherto neglected areas, but were warned not to "exclude" subjects – such as the classics – traditionally stressed by established American colleges. They were to meet the demand for more "practical" education, but the language of the act inextricably linked this aspect of learning to "liberal" education, in a governing phrase that spoke of "liberal and practical education . . . in the several pursuits and professions of life."

The consequences of this affirmative revolution was the democratization of higher education, in terms both of making college training accessible to greater numbers of people and in the scope of subject matter. Postsecondary enrollments in the United States no longer represent a particular stratum of society, and college and university chairs in many subjects now universally considered academically respectable were initiated in Land-Grant institutions.

Today these institutions constitute about five percent of the total number of American colleges and universities offering four or more years of postsecondary study, enroll about a quarter of all the students attending these colleges and universities, and grant more than half of all degrees awarded in the United States at the highest or doctoral level.



As the Declaration of Independence signified the determination of Americans to sever the political ties that bound them to the monarchical and hierarchical societies they had emigrated to escape, so the Land-Grant College Acts signified a "declaration of independence" for education. Thus taking as its benchmark the pre-Constitution law asserting that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," an 1890 study by the U.S. Office of Education said that "next to the Ordinance of 1787, the Congressional Grant of 1862 is the most important educational enactment in America." Sixty years later an analyst for the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government, Hollis P. Allen, pointed out that "The general support for resident instruction of the Land-Grant Colleges is sometimes referred to as the most effective grant in aid ever made by the Federal Government." Similar tribute was paid in a 1953 report of the National Manpower Council, affiliated with Columbia University, which declared that "The most important single step in connection with the training of scientific and professional personnel was the Morrill Act of 1862 which laid the basis for the country's extensive state college and university system."

Beyond its impact on the character of higher education, the collegiate system Senator Morrill did so much to create has made a major contribution to our national security. Out of his specification that "military training" be offered in the Land-Grant institutions, there gradually developed the idea of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, which ultimately involved a wide range of colleges and universities as well as the Land-Grant group. The existence of this system prior to World War II was credited by Gen. George C. Marshall with shortening mobilization (and thus the war) by six months, and saving thousands of lives.

Perhaps the most impressive tributes to the significance of the educational revolution inaugurated by the Morrill and subsequent Acts, however, are those of emulation. Domestically, the changes called for by Senator Morrill have been widely accepted by all segments of American higher education. Internationally, other countries seeking to capture the secret of the remarkable success of the United States in improving the lives of its people have introduced most of the features of the Land-Grant system into their own systems of higher education. This is particularly true in the developing nations, where the "Land-Grant idea" is America's most sought after educational export.

The contributions of the Morrill Acts were perhaps most succinctly summed up in three points emphasized in the report of the Council of State Governments cited earlier: First, thanks to the Land-Grant system it is now generally agreed "that higher education should be made available to broad segments of the population"; second, "education in the applied sciences – technical and vocational education generally – now have wide recognition and status"; and third, "the performance of broad public services and participation in activities designed to serve both immediate and long range needs of society are generally accepted as proper and important functions of institutions of higher education." And the report added: "These trends toward democratization of higher education, thus begun, continue strong today..."

—RUSSELL I. THACKREY

Executive Director-Emeritus, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant colleges

The Community's

They have been called "people's colleges," "commuter colleges," and "democracy's colleges" by observers seeking to capture the special character of those uniquely American educational institutions, our public community and junior colleges.

By whatever name, they have made a substantial impact on the shape of postsecondary education in this country. And they have done so in a relatively short period of time – not quite 75 years in terms of when the first of them came into being, perhaps 25 years if one considers the period of greatest growth and expansion. Their essence is the American ideal of equal opportunity for all, and their role has been that of opening channels for further education to greater numbers of Americans than could have been accommodated in more traditional institutions.

Formal steps to establish the two-year "junior" college as a new entity in higher education can be traced back to 1892 and the late William Rainey Harper, first president of the "reorganized" University of Chicago, though the germ of the idea had been expressed even before then. Early in the 1850s Henry Tappan, president of the University of Michigan, referred to the notion that the first two years of college might well be separated from the last two in some special kind of arrangement, and much the same idea was also recommended a few years later by William Watts Folwell, president of the University of Minnesota.

It was Dr. Harper, however, who put the concept into action by establishing at the University of Chicago a "university college" (covering the junior and senior years) and an "academic college" (covering the freshman and sophomore years). These designations were subsequently changed to "senior" and "junior" college, and the latter term became generic, for Dr. Harper also sought to encourage the establishment of a network of public two-year postsecondary institutions, envisioning that they might be developed as an extension of the offerings of local school districts. Today the State of Illinois has some 50 public community junior colleges – including one bearing his name.

The public community junior college "movement" may be said to have started when Dr. Harper suggested to school authorities in nearby Joliet that they undertake to offer two years of classwork beyond high school, with the understanding that the students who successfully completed this work could be accepted by the University of Chicago in its "senior college." Dr. Harper's basic concern was to strengthen the university by assuring a supply of mature and purposive students, but he also foresaw potential benefits to education generally and to the higher education community in particular by providing a way by which those four-year colleges that were having difficulty keeping afloat could consolidate their resources by becoming two-year colleges. In any case, the ultimate result was the creation in 1901 of Joliet Junior College by the Joliet Township High School Board.

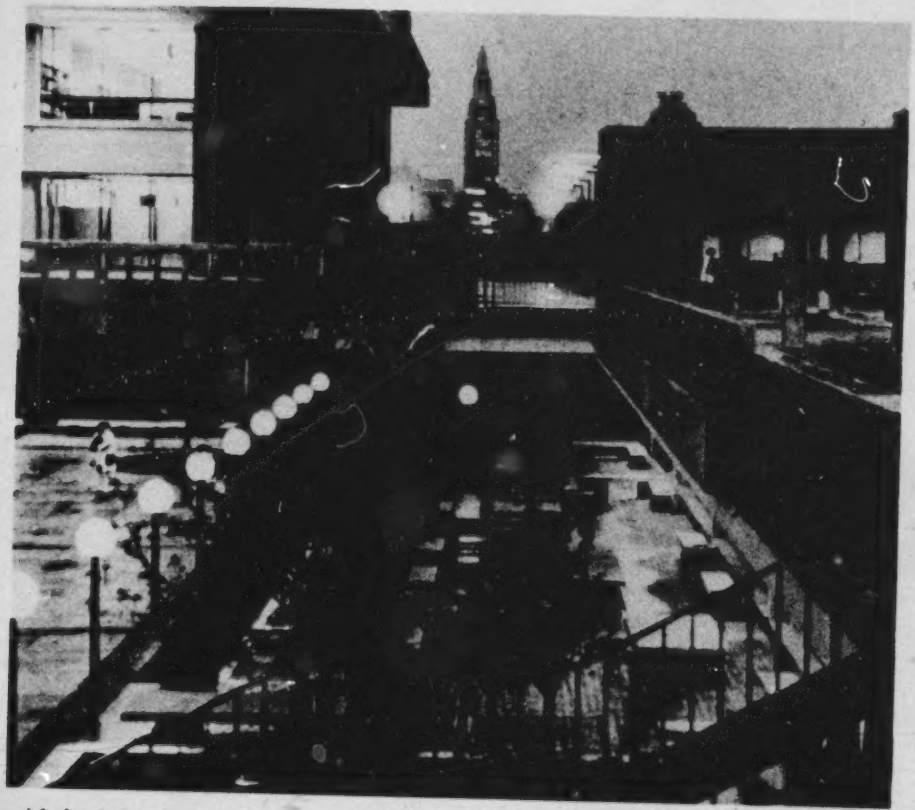
The idea of linking high school and college quickly caught on and for many years was standard. California's ubiquitous community colleges, for example, were until recently so closely tied to the secondary schools that both often operated under the same administrators. The development of junior colleges as part of the public school system of that State was in particular championed by Alexis F. Lange in his capacity as head of the department of education at the University of California. Dr. Lange and others also stressed the need for a departure from the traditional "academic" approach – the need to offer both general and vocational education specifically addressed to students who might not necessarily be interested in attending college for four years.

Meanwhile the junior college movement was receiving its principal impetus from private two-year institutions, though they may variously have been called academies, seminaries, finishing schools, or the like. The first private junior college would appear to have antedated the first public junior college, as represented by Joliet, and in any case, these private two-year schools flourished during the early part of the current century. Even as late as 1930 they outnumbered the public junior colleges 258 to 178.

It was the latter, however, that were destined to dominate, a consequence that had its roots in far-reaching changes in public attitudes and the society's needs. Greater concern developed over the traditional exclusivity of much of higher education and a greater interest in equalizing educational opportunities at all levels. In educational circles and in the public arena alike, there was a call to provide new kinds of school experiences attuned to the individual interests and goals of the students involved while at the same time responding to the Nation's manpower requirements. The advent of a technological age was creating an increasing demand for better trained people for industry, in business, in the health fields, indeed in all aspects of the American world of work. Concomitantly, there was increasing insistence that every individual be enabled to pursue education as far as his abilities and ambition would carry him. The four-year colleges and universities, however, were confronted by such an enrollment boom, receiving far more applications than they could handle, that they began to tighten their admissions requirements.

This combination of forces found in the public community junior college a natural meetingplace. One result, beginning in the 1950s, was the emergence of these institutions as a major phenomenon ultimately attracting perhaps half of all students entering postsecondary education. Another, as they began to proliferate, was the development of various new arrangements for their governance and a more precise definition of their role. New patterns of control and financing began to emerge, often accompanied by provisions for more direct involvement of the community. Thus in California, where community and junior colleges once were wedded firmly to the local school systems, there has been a trend toward the establishment of separate, discrete districts

Campus



with both local and State support.

Pennsylvania uses another model. The operating expenses of a college are equally shared by the students, the State, and the local sponsor (a county, a municipality, a school district, or any combination of these); capital costs are borne equally by the State and the local school district. In Virginia and Florida, control and support are the responsibility primarily of the States. In general the goal has been to institute control and support patterns attuned to the particular State's needs.

These shifts have been accompanied by the development of a new view of the role of the community junior college. Until not so very long ago – and perhaps to some degree even now – such an institution was typically thought of as a stop-gap method of starting on a four-year program, a transfer mechanism for those who could not make it into a more "respectable" college. Similarly, members of the community often proclaimed that their new two-year institution was simply an interim arrangement preparatory to a more satisfying expression of local pride in the form of a "regular" four-year college.

While many students continue to use these institutions as the starting place for their pursuit of a baccalaureate – as Dr. Harper had suggested – the community junior college has today established its own identity, generating its own share of local pride and serving as a focal point for overall community development. In the process it is also preparing thousands and thousands of people for a wide range of careers that neither require nor need four years of advanced training.

By its convenience and by the relatively low costs it imposes on students, the community junior colleges have opened up opportunities for postsecondary education for those that traditionally have been denied them – members of minority groups being one noteworthy example. Older Americans have found in these institutions a new resource for retraining or for general intellectual and cultural stimulation. The ambitious young high school graduate can take courses applicable to the ultimate award of an A.B. degree or enter training that would lead to a good job at the end of two years or so. From timber-falling to computer technology, from nursing and police training to English literature and art appreciation, there is something for just about everybody.

The result has been such a wave of interest that in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, new community junior colleges were brought into being at a rate of nearly one a week. Enrollments rose from one million to more than three million in a little more than a decade. Today, with 937 public two-year colleges in operation, plus 228 conducted under private auspices, the number of new institutions being established has leveled off at about 12 annually, and total enrollments now stand at about 3,144,000.

Numerical growth has meanwhile been replaced by an expanded view of functions to be served. These functions continue to include standard academic courses plus considerable emphasis on education "a little out of the ordinary." Equally important, however, the community junior college seeks to serve as a general resource center for the population area it serves – as a force for mobilizing and catalyzing the efforts of a wide range of local agencies, institutions, and groups toward resolving community issues and problems. The campus and the community in effect become one.

The community junior college has in short evolved into an instrument of liberation in a society where opportunity for education means opportunity to lead a truly productive and satisfying life. It has thus set out not only to respond to change but to influence the directions that change may take.

—EDMUND J. GLEAZER, JR.

President, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges

The Remarkable G.I. Bill

A prominent university president said it would open postsecondary education to a floodtide of unqualified students and consequently depress academic standards. Another called it a "threat" to the cause of higher learning and added that in any case "education is not a device for coping with mass unemployment." A Harvard economist believed it "carried the principle of democratization too far." A spokesman for the military said the debate over it was bootless, since projections indicated that no more than seven percent of those eligible would sign up anyway.

Thus toward the end of World War II, amid doubt and some acrimony, the Nation signed an I.O.U. to be collected on demand by members of the Armed Forces when hostilities ceased. It was a promissory note equally applicable to 15 million military personnel whether, by chance or training, they had risked their lives on the Normandy beaches, flown overloaded transports across the Hump to Burma, slogged through the jungles of the South Pacific, or fought the paper war back home.

Officially Congress called it the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 and included in it incentives for veterans housing, insurance, pensions, medical benefits, and of course education. Unofficially this remarkable piece of legislation became known as the GI Bill of Rights, and its education benefits changed forever the Nation's notions about who should go to college in America.

The veterans quickly established themselves as a new breed of college student. The war had afforded them a look beyond the limited opportunities in New England mill towns, Alabama tenant farms, Detroit slums, and Texas barrios. They came home war-tested and mature, with a cool awareness of what they wanted to make of themselves and a no-nonsense determination to get on with it. Education was the key, and the GI Bill a way to help pay the freight. The Bill was not a free ride, designed to foot the entire cost. The veterans – many from poor families, many the first in their families to aspire to higher education – stretched their dollars, took odd jobs, and made do. Some flocked to liberal arts, technical, and professional schools. Thousands of others went the route of vocational and on-the-job training programs.

In cashing in their I.O.U.'s they confounded the experts. No more than 640,000 veterans in all, it had been predicted, would ever use their GI college benefits and no more than 150,000 would be enrolled full-time in any single academic year. In fact, however, the peak year of 1947 saw nearly 1,150,000 GIs crowding the Nation's campuses. By 1955 the number of ex-service men and women who had gone to college under the Bill reached 2.2 million – 14.3 percent of all World War II veterans. During the 1945-55 decade, another 3.5 million studied at schools below the college level. Adding on-the-job and farm-related training, 48 percent of all veterans – over seven million men and women – used their GI education benefits.

The veterans also defied predictions of how they would perform in the classroom. It had been assumed that being more mature than the typical student, they would be serious about their studies, and so they were. It was also assumed that they would fare poorly in an academic sense and would be unwilling to put up with the discipline involved in higher learning. Those who were married were expected to have a particularly tough time.

President Conant of Harvard, however, was subsequently to observe that veterans were "the most mature and promising students Harvard ever had." More particularly, a 1968 report on the GI Bill by the Syracuse University Research Institute noted that almost all studies made of it "have concluded that the veteran earned higher grades than did his nonveteran classmates." Moreover, the report added, "Thirty percent of all veterans were married and ten percent had children when they started their education; yet these veterans usually earned higher grades than single veterans."

The Syracuse analysis went on to relate some of the broader implications of such findings as these to the conduct of higher education generally. Veterans who were first generation college students demonstrated that a far greater proportion of the Nation's youth could profit from postsecondary education than previously had been envisaged. Veterans had a major impact on the balance between public and private college enrollment: Whereas the majority of prewar students went to private institutions, by 1968 only a third did so. Veterans made the married student an accepted member of the academic community. And by their unprecedented enrollments and their demand for more pragmatic instruction, veterans forced higher education to re-examine its objectives, facilities, and methods toward adjusting to students outside the conventional mold.

Hard on the heels of the World War II veterans came those involved in Korea. For them the Congress enacted a new piece of legislation, followed in 1966 by the Cold War GI Bill covering Vietnam veterans (and for the first time providing opportunities for college training to men and women on active duty).

For whatever reasons – perhaps because they were fewer in number than those of World War II, perhaps because jobs in 1954 were easier to find – the proportion of Korean veterans using their GI benefits for education was just under 42 percent, as contrasted with the 48 percent of the previous decade. With Vietnam veterans, however, it's a different story. The Veterans Administration says the Vietnam participation rate already exceeds that of Korean veterans and ultimately can be expected to go well beyond that of the veterans of World War II.

Together the I.O.U.'s represented by the three GI Bills have been collected by no less than 27.5 million men and women, and in the process postsecondary education has been given a bracing new dimension.

—STORY MOOREFIELD

OE's Office of Public Affairs staff

THE HABITATS OF EDUCATION

BY HAROLD B. GORES

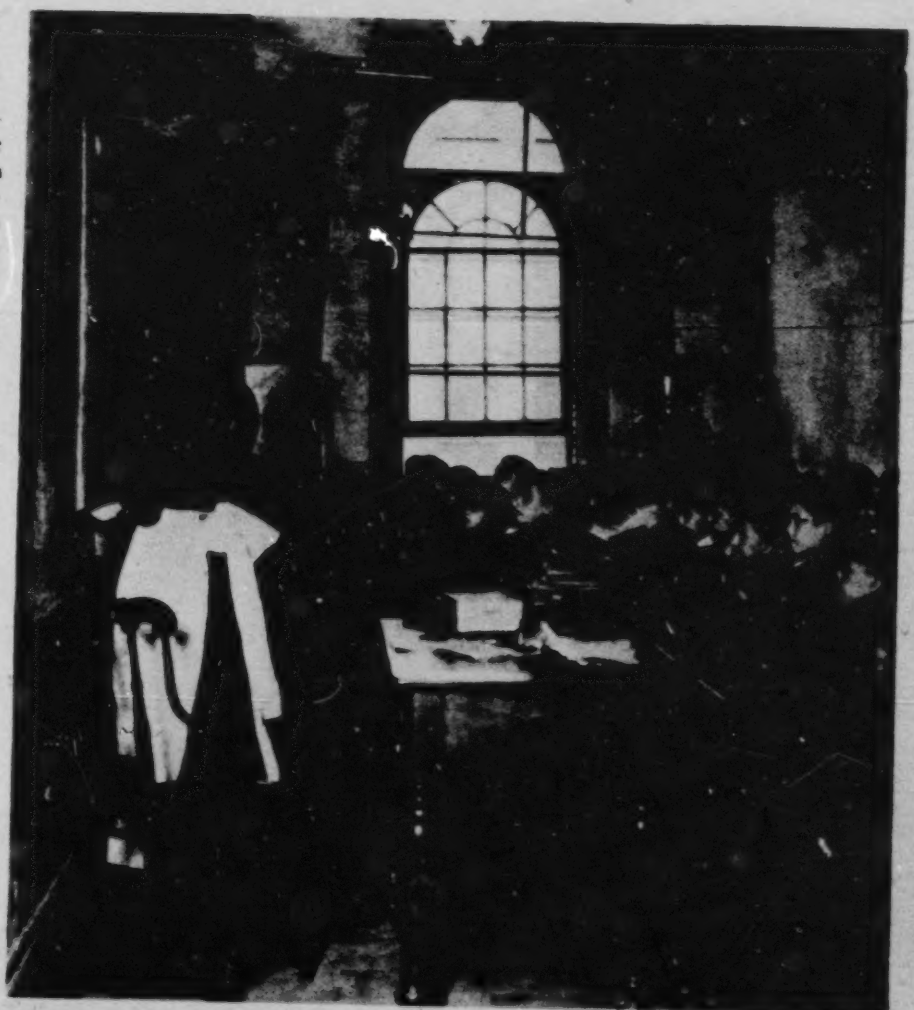
Because this is about the "places" of education, a quick disclaimer is in order. Let's agree that people are more important than bricks, that constructive learning is more likely to occur in the presence of a good teacher—even in a tent—than with a stupid teacher in a Taj Mahal.

Education is people engaging in a process at a place. Whether the caliber of the faculty or of the student body is of first importance to what is learned is debatable, but everyone agrees that both outrank in importance the places of education.

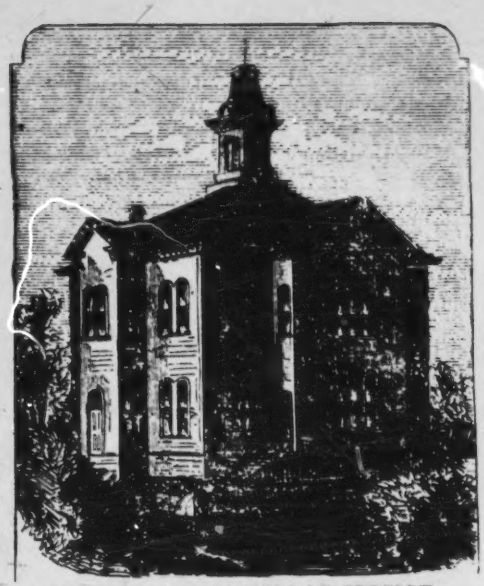
Yet the places and the things of education are not unimportant. Indeed, the late Canadian humorist, Stephen Leacock, raised the physical environment to second rank when he advised that to start a university one should first assemble a student body, then build a smoking room, and if any funds remain, employ a professor.

Whatever the order, it was early apparent in our pioneer days that gathering the children around a teacher was cheaper than sending a circuit rider to the homes. And so the one-room schoolhouse was built.

As the Nation grew, the schools also grew—in number, size, complexity, and



Dr. Gores is president of Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc., in New York City.



THE MODERN SCHOOL HOUSE,

EW PLAN FOR A DISTRICT SCHOOL.

HOUSE FOR GROWING NEIGHBORHOOD.

expense. In design, they mirrored the local culture, and were distinguishable from their cultural counterparts—the church and the town hall—only by the presence of the well-scuffed playground and the absence of a steeple. Essentially, this classic trilogy of pioneer community art forms consisted of a single barnlike room, their dimensions determined by the length of native beams.

As populations increased in density, schools grew by adding rooms and sorting pupils by age. In 1848, Boston built the first graded elementary school—eight equal size, boxlike classrooms under the same roof, an ingenious arrangement that set the pattern of school design for a hundred years.

Not until the mid-1950s was there discontent with the interior layout of space, of rigidly uniform equal size classrooms. Well into the 20th century the Boston boxes of 1848 were still adequate for an education based on stimulus-response psychology, serving a burgeoning economy that could endlessly absorb the eventual graduates—even the dropouts—with no questions asked.

Growing like the population and like Topsy, school systems multiplied exponentially. By 1931 there were 127,000 public school districts in this land, each trying to be all things to all children, especially to the more verbal college-bound.

Predictably, there came a reaction to the mounting proliferation of school districts and small schools. Under the pressure to reduce costs, and the desire to enrich programs in small schools, separate school districts have been "consolidated" by the thousands, reducing the total to approximately 17,000 today, while the size of individual schools has become larger.

Once schoolhouses became the biggest public structures in town, and in big towns and cities the most numerous, they became symbols of community aspiration.

Until recently, these larger schoolhouses were virtually identical, varying only in their adjustments to differing climate: in the North, a collection of uniform classrooms in linear array, separated by corridors; in the South, taking advantage of a gentler climate, the rows of classrooms were back to back. In exterior appearance the buildings, especially the larger high and preparatory schools, were replicas of whatever architectural style—Greek, Roman, Gothic, Federal—was most likely to proclaim that the institution was the keeper of knowledge, morality, the cultural heritage, and all that was good.

This early yearning for architectural monumentality is not to be denigrated. What better public expression of the community's pride and intent than a near-permanent (with good maintenance, practically eternal) statement for all to see. Plato said, "That which is honored in a country will prosper there." In their monumentality the buildings sought to honor education, but alas, they were expensive.

Even less than the schoolhouse has the classroom varied from the norm. Debates raged in education at least since Boston's Quincy School, but the classroom itself remained as it was, a place where one teacher and one class gathered in one room to engage in confrontal teaching.

As long as education took the form of "schooling" and its purpose was primarily to transmit the common culture to the young, the schoolhouse, its layout, and its equipment could be straightforward and utilitarian. (To quote an architect much honored and employed in a Northern State, "The people up here know what a schoolhouse is and I give it to them. I tell the school board what it will cost a square foot and everybody knows what money is and what a square foot is." Incidentally, this practical man produced many schools quite worthy of their times. But no dreamer, he.)

From the mid-19th century to mid-20th, schoolhouses were locked in their own Cartesian grids of standard classrooms, each accommodating a standard number of children to be instructed by one teacher of, it is hoped, standard credentials. The teacher's mission was to transmit the predominant culture for a year. In a secondary school, bells would ring at regular intervals, signaling students, and sometimes teachers, to change boxes.

Since the process of schooling consisted mostly of a talking teacher and a learner who rarely stirred from his place, the learner was provided with a "pupil-station" consisting of a chair and desk fixed to the floor. Not until well into the 20th century were the chair and desk freestanding and rearrangeable.

Reflecting the Nation's industrialization the furniture itself was industrialized. It consisted, like the Model T, of interchangeable machined parts, the better to be manufactured on the assembly line with no departure from its school-brown uniformity.

The basic tools of instructional equipment were book and blackboard. To be sure, early in the 20th century the moving picture arrived (but never did "replace the American teacher," as Mr. Edison had predicted), and then radio with the high promise of connecting every

crossroad school with the dialog of the spheres; and later television, heralded as "the new window in the classroom"; and more recently, teaching machines and electronic devices, rising in sophistication to computer-assisted instruction. Even today, these devices of instructional technology are struggling for general acceptance under the handicap of earlier over-promise.

For a hundred years these schools served well the relatively simple society, their designs reflecting two underlying assumptions:

The first was that schools were only for the young—that young people were to be assembled in groups sorted by age; that transmission of the dominant subculture was its principal function; that the transmission, called teaching, would result from showing and telling by an older person located at the "front" of the group. This frontal (or confrontal) teaching in its own private classroom box, sealed off from its environment by floor-to-ceiling maximum security partitions, had many virtues for a Nation growing at a faster pace than that with which it was training its teachers. Not the least of its virtues was that it saved money: Relatively untrained and inexperienced teachers, given a book, could conduct lessons and maintain order in the group either by the natural interest of what was being talked about, or by force of personality—by charm or by fright. If the children were still inattentive or unruly, the more affluent districts reduced class size, often substituting intimacy of setting for vitality; while the poorer districts overloaded their classes to the point that children were but listening audiences.

The second assumption was that schools were islands in our culture, that they not only could but should stand aside from the affairs of the town, from the conditions that vexed all the people. It was as though schools could remain secure even as the neighboring tide ran out economically and socially, that children could be secure whether or not their parents were.

In simpler days this was mostly true. An economy growing exponentially somehow found places for most of the burgeoning population. Youth was secure when everyone was secure, and schools were at liberty—indeed, set apart—to conduct their own affairs, raise their own money, and prepare the young for productive and fulfilling adulthood.

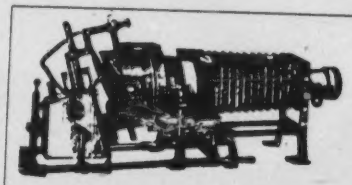
The arrangement worked satisfactorily for the most part until well into the 1950s. As the society grew more affluent, so did the schools. By mid-century, the American schoolhouse was no longer "a ragged beggar sunning." More likely, it was a big beautiful edifice, proclaiming to all that education was a gigantic enterprise of monumental priority in our culture.

But there were stirrings under the surface. As long ago as John Dewey and the progressive education movement, the elementary schools had loosened up, though not to the extent of exploding the walls that separated group from group. Schools were still egg-crates, and the American high school especially was still a collection of isolated rooms under one roof.

There were other stirrings, too, notably in the student body and in the public expectation of what schools should do. As students in increasing numbers voiced their disenchantment with being processed by groups, as the frustrations of teachers mounted when they lost the attention of their students, even as the public came to blame the schools for America's failure to be the first in space, the pressures combined to produce dramatic rearrangement of the whole process of schooling, and in the larger sense, education.

This riptide of strong and conflicting waves of pressure, gathering strength since the decade of the 1950s, is reshaping the role of teachers and how they teach, the curriculum and what is to be learned, and the habitat—the physical setting—in which the act takes place.

Being closer to the electorate (and generally better supported), the first schools to respond to the new needs and new demands were the suburban schools. There the schools, together with their



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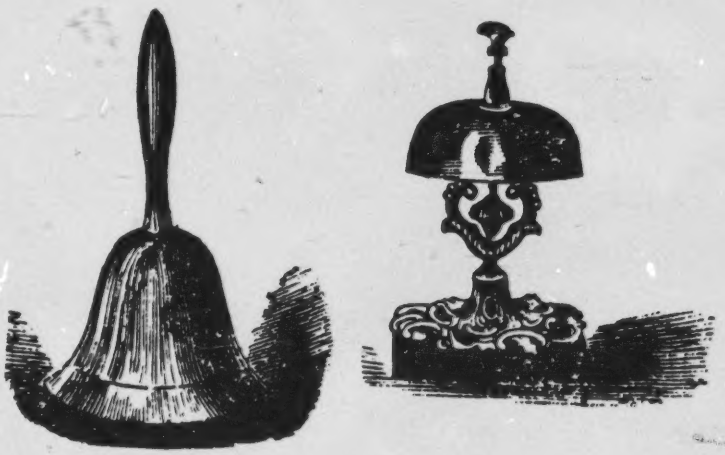

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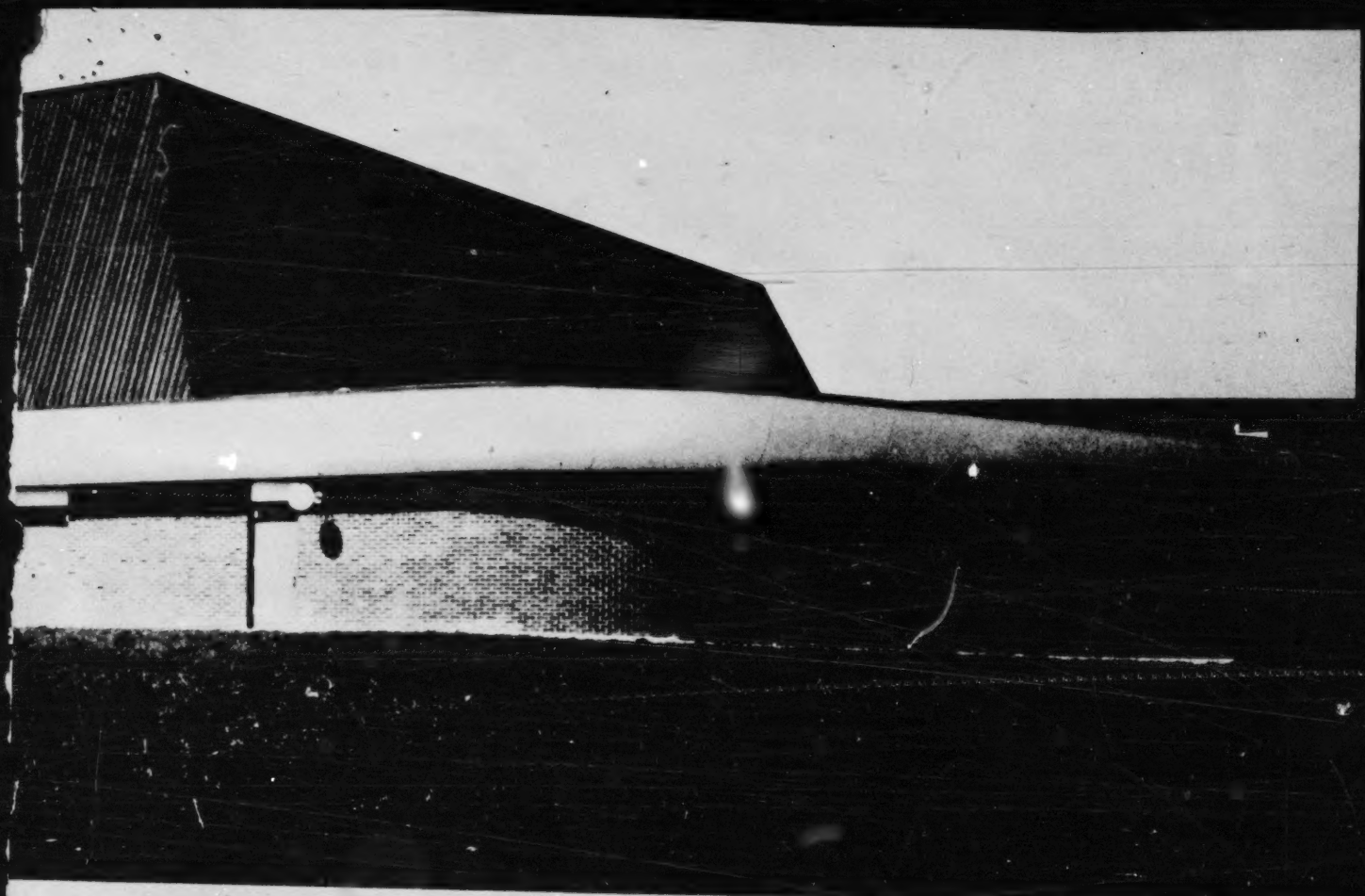
people, sought first to humanize the process. This took various forms.

The undergirding psychology of learning, for one, was personalized—less reliance on Pavlovian stimulus-response psychology and greater reliance on the organismic—the "wholes" of life, learning, and interpersonal relationships. Toward that end, internal spaces were rearranged to fit groups of varying sizes.

In the secondary schools, bells ceased to ring, and students were encouraged to cut their own pathways through the curriculum and the school, each to the beat of his or her own drummer. The individual student in continuous progress came into partnership with teachers in determining the pattern of his or her learning.

Once the personal relationships of students and faculty were altered, the environment was forced to respond. For the first time the debilitating aspects of the then-conventional schools were challenged. Suddenly every habitual arrangement of space and even the physical nature of equipment gave way to new criteria of performance.

First to be assailed were the immovable partitions separating each group from every other. Literally, the walls came



tumbling down as schools sought to create appropriate spaces for groups of varying size, and especially to enable the joining of two contiguous classrooms. From this beginning, interior partitioning moved from the "immovable" separator—frequently load-bearing and laced with wiring and plumbing—to the movable or curtain-wall partition, thence to the so-called "operable" partition providing immediate separation or juncture and onto what is just now emerging—the skiddable space divider.

As the interior configuration of small boxlike classrooms gave way to large zones of space, the noise level—a natural concomitant of people engaged in communication, and with the things of learning—cried out for remedy. It was pure coincidence that the solution, carpeting, also introduced a new note of amenity into the Nation's schools. When carpeting (first used at the Peter Pan School in Andrews, Texas, in 1954) proved to be an efficient acoustic absorbent, the idea spread. And so did the carpeting, across the floors of uncounted classrooms. Today, carpet is routine in school design: to sponge up noise, lessen fatigue, provide safety, insulate against heat loss, and to convey to schoolhouse occupants the notion that somebody cares about their comfort.

Indeed, in recent years the acceptance of comfort and amenity has become a part of the American cultural attitude toward schools. Logically, this new concern for physical well-being and morale called for comfortable temperatures. Just as the 100,000 acres of school floors in this country were being carpeted, air-conditioning followed apace and is now routine in schools of recent vintage, especially where year-round use is contemplated.

While the opening up of interiors, quieting them, and cooling them are fundamental changes, there were others growing out of a rethinking of the process of education. Starting with the child in his own private bubble of space and moving outward, that venerable symbol of the scholar's place—the desk and chair—came under attack. Now that the floor had become the most humane surface in the room, the very young could be returned on many occasions to their natural habitat, the floor, and the desk might be a stand of coffee-table height. For students of whatever age, a comfortable chair nourishes his spirit, proclaims his worth, and may improve his learning. And because the young tend to rise to our expectations of them, it is not surprising that children are respectful of furniture that is pleasing to the eye and yielding to the body. If morale is good, it is no more natural for a child to destroy things that praise him than for a bird to destroy its own nest.

What has been happening is a move to juvenilize (that is, make more childlike) the environment of early childhood, to make more sensitive the surroundings of the small child who, in earlier days (circa 1950) was expected to sit out his schooling in a slippery plastic chair as though he were a shrunken businessman. Yet at the secondary school the process is reversed—to dejuvenilize the environment and the process. High schools and their architects today are concerned with providing each person and each group with a sense of territory, with personal spaces that offer privacy when wanted and involvement when needed, with pleasant places for informal gatherings, and places that help the individual connect with the dynamics of the school and the culture that surrounds it. No longer is there lingering cultural guilt when colors are vivid and the environment is enlivened with modern art.

While such efforts help to humanize the school and appeal especially to those students who find the conventional organization too mechanistic for their life styles, there are cautions to be observed. Robert Propst, in *High School: The Process and the Place*, says it best in his discussion of geometry versus humanism:

Authorities and planners visualize the chaos of large numbers of people in buildings with disorderly space. People will be confused, disoriented, lost, uncontrolled. As a result, we have an inordinate regard for method and order in space that will satisfy these important concerns. Where am I now? Which way is north? How do I get around? Where is out?

But this concern by itself can produce space which, in terms of human use, is

mechanistic and robotlike, space dominated by the straight lines and acute angles of Cartesian geometry. Often it results in egg-crate uniformity which insists on predetermined patterns of use, with no give to allow for the ways people naturally array themselves in communication relationships.

Patterns of human communication follow no straight lines. They are made up of bits and pieces, episodic and varied, which call for a different kind of spatial order.

This order is based on the proximity of people who need to communicate for the work at hand though the particular work and those involved in it may shift throughout the day. It is based on their tendency to fall into groups of different sizes and configurations.

In the resolution of this conflict, spatial order is still the objective. But it must be achieved through recognition of the natural dynamic ways people use space.

In short, the schoolhouse is in transition and it is changing physically because it is changing psychologically. Human relations, at least in school, are different today and the environment is acknowledging the difference. To oversimplify, schools are becoming more a series of living rooms than of kitchens; increasingly the profession of interior design is evident and the schools are better for it.

Companion to the physical response to what goes on inside the school has been a rethinking of the relation of the whole institution to the life of the community. No longer can schools confine their ministry only to the young, standing aside from the issues swirling around all the people. Schools increasingly are coming off their islands and joining in partnership with other agencies to deliver health services, the arts, recreation, and information (libraries). In reversing the Balkanized delivery of services, in working from a unitary rather than a fractionated base, comes a new synergism that brings higher productivity of the tax dollar. A no less important product is the encouragement of racial integration, the mix of socioeconomic groups—and the bringing together of an intergenerational student body. More and more will the economic and social well-being of the community be served by schools which share the space and the action. Already, on the shores dimly seen, the first such community center/schools are emerging.

These new and varying uses require maximum flexibility to accommodate changing arrangements as programs develop. An increasing number of schools are guarding against quick obsolescence by requiring that the building's design and construction be systematic, that in the interest of both flexibility and speed the structure be assembled from pre-engineered components. Most recently the planning of buildings has departed from the customary series of linear decisions in favor of overlapping the steps in order to compress the total period of planning. Where building systems are employed, it is not unusual today for a building's shell to be partially constructed before the interior design is completed. And if someday within the building's normal life, extending well into the 21st century, the school must convert to some other useful purpose, it stands ready economically to embrace the change.

Certainly the habitats of education are changing, but as the 18th century German philosopher Georg Lichtenburg said, "I don't know whether if things change they will get better, but I do know that if things are to get better they must change." Schools are changing and they are getting better. □

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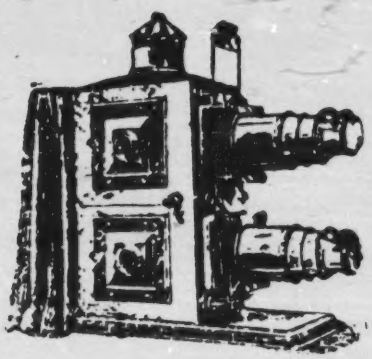

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Libraries in the New World

As far back as we can go in history," observed Jean Gottman in his *Megalopolis*, "we find major libraries or clusters of them located at the centers of power and culture in each period." In light of so ancient a tradition, dating back to the great river civilizations of Mesopotamia, there should be little cause for wonder that the aspirants to freedom and opportunity in the New World made libraries their concern at the very outset of the Colonial period.

In 1620 a copy of St. Augustine's *Citty of God* translated into English was among some prized works sent by an anonymous donor to Henrico, Virginia, the site of a proposed new college. Sundry books including "2 duzzen & ten Catechismes" figured prominently on the manifest of cargoes shipped in 1629 to John Endicott's settlement in Salem, Massachusetts. And in 1638, while dictating a will during the last hours of life, the consumptive son of a family of London butchers made a bequest of several hundred volumes to the college that has since made his surname, Harvard, as world-renowned as that of his English alma mater, Cambridge University. That same year also witnessed the arrival from abroad of the Colonies' first printing press, from which in 1640 was pulled the pages of the *Bay Psalm Book*, the first book to be printed in Colonial America.

Such were the fragmentary beginnings of American scholarship. What next was needed was a fireball who perceived the capacity of stored wisdom in igniting the intellect. Who better than that intrepid experimenter with kites and electricity, Benjamin Franklin? When still in his twenties Franklin proposed to his fellow members of the Philadelphia Junto that they expand their individual resources by "clubbing our books." Soon afterward he began what he described as his "first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library." Thus in 1731 came the founding of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which some 40 years later, Franklin described as "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous." Of the movement thus started, he was later to claim: "These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made through the colonies in defense of their privileges."

In effect, the subscription library was a corporation, enlisting a monetary contribution of each shareholder for the purchase of books to be used for communal purposes, and establishing the regulations for their circulation and use. Behind its advent on the American cultural scene was not only the scarcity and prohibitive expensiveness of books but an ever-increasing secularization of the Colonial world, an eagerness for information and knowledge beyond that offered by the catechisms and religious tracts that had satisfied the original settlers.

These so-called "social libraries," organized either on a subscription or proprietary basis (in this latter form the shares could be transferred to others at the behest of the owner), flourished for over a hundred years to widespread acclaim. As the years passed however, politicians, orators, and private individuals alike lost no occasion to point out that the newly formed Republic called for the enlightenment of *all* its citizens. Surely, they argued, wealth alone could not be the basis for the diffusion of knowledge. It was in this spirit that a New England bookseller and author wrote to his brother in 1803 that he was donating a collection of books for the free use of the children of his birthplace, Salisbury, Connecticut. He called his project "whimsical" but it was in fact a landmark, for it so impressed the citizens of Salisbury that they ultimately authorized the town selectmen to expend tax money to maintain and enlarge Caleb Bingham's handsome gift. Thus, in the words of Jesse Shera, Director of the Center for Documentation and Communication Research at Western Reserve University, "...public support for library service had at last begun. The contribution was modest, but the precedent had been established; it would be the task of later generations to enlarge upon and refine the initial plan."

Hesitantly, the idea of tax support for libraries caught on: New York State in 1835 passed enabling legislation permitting school districts to raise funds for the purchase of books, and within little more than a decade several other States had copied the New York example. But with that the movement faltered. Of greater impact was to be the adoption of State legislation authorizing cities and towns to establish free, tax-supported public libraries. In 1848, Massachusetts passed a law granting such authorization to the City of Boston, and a year later New Hampshire passed similar legislation applying to any city in the State.

By mid-century, American libraries had started to become so widespread that those involved in them decided to get together to exchange ideas and plan for future development. This first Convention of Libraries was held in New York in 1853, the same year in which that city and Chicago were connected by rail. Eighty-two men answered the call to attend—among them, Daniel Coit Gilman, destined to become first president of Johns Hopkins University; Henry Barnard, a Connecticut school superintendent and later the first U.S. Commissioner of Education; and the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, who was later to write "The Man Without a Country." Although plans for a second conference were discussed, these were disrupted by the Civil War and its aftermath, and it was not until 1876 that a second group of librarians was invited to meet in Philadelphia, host city for the Centennial Exhibition celebrating the Nation's 100th anniversary. The U.S. Bureau of Education, then located in the Department of the Interior, proved itself of great help in assembling this librarians' congress. The Commissioner of Education even supplied postage stamps (whether out of his own pocket is not clear) to cover the costs of mailing circulars announcing the event.

Ninety men and 13 women attended this second meeting, representing collegiate, subscription, private, public, and mercantile and apprentices' libraries from 17 States, and there was even a handful of delegates from abroad. The most important result was a decision to form a permanent organization. Thus was born the American Library Association.

Other events also helped to make 1876 a turning point for the library movement. It was in that year that the U.S. Bureau of Education issued its first major governmental report on the subject, *Public Libraries in the United States of America*, and that Melvil Dewey, who had been graduated from college only a year earlier, issued his famous decimal classification system. "Never before or since," comments Edward G. Holley, "have American librarians been able to claim as much fruition

within a single 12-month period.

Although the initiation of tax support was the most far-reaching breakthrough in the development of American libraries, the role of private philanthropy was also of great significance, as exemplified by the bequest to Harvard that marked the beginning of that university's magnificent libraries. In 1733, Bishop Berkeley enriched the new campus of Yale University with 900 volumes from his personal library, and some 20 years later Governor Jonathan Belcher of New Jersey presented 450 volumes to the college that is now Princeton University. The tradition of private giving was subsequently to be dominated by the industrial barons of the 19th and early 20th centuries, with the treasures they privately assembled eventually becoming available to the public. Such was the case with the important collections gathered by J. Pierpoint Morgan, Henry E. Huntington, John Carter Brown, Henry C. Folger, John Jacob Astor, William J. Clements, and Harry Elkins Widener, all of which ultimately were established either as separate scholarly libraries or as adjuncts to libraries maintained by institutions of higher education.

The greatest philanthropic contribution to libraries came from the donations of Andrew Carnegie. Scottish-born and reared in a Pennsylvania mill town, Andrew Carnegie in some ways comes to mind like a waif out of Dickens. Starved for learning as a youth, he recalled in his maturity his gratitude to a Colonel James Anderson, who invited young Andrew and the other apprentices and mill children to take home books from his personal library. Though Mr. Carnegie was to draw bitter criticism from organized labor and others for his business practices (they incidentally coined the term "Libraro Maniac" to describe him) he left an indelible mark on library development in turn-of-the-century America. His benefactions not only helped to establish some 2,800 libraries in the English-speaking world but by stimulating public authorities to provide matching funds, led a transition from the patrician nature of library support during the 19th century to the more egalitarian mode of the 20th.

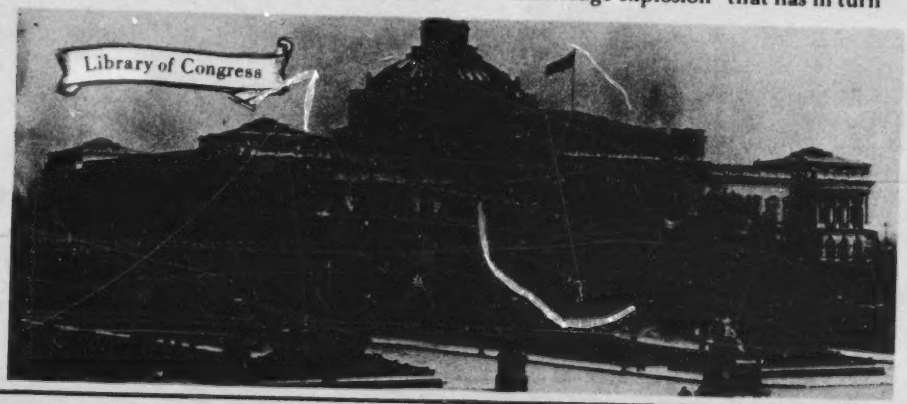
As the power of private philanthropy waned, it was perhaps inevitable that the trail of American library development would in time lead to the largest of the public purses, that of the Federal Government. Congress had itself in 1800 created the greatest of the Nation's libraries, the Library of Congress; and in 1956, following ten years of debate on the subject, the Congress enacted the Library Services Act. Signed into law by President Eisenhower, this pioneer legislation authorized Federal funds for the extension of public library services to those communities having less than 10,000 inhabitants who were without libraries or were inadequately served by them. Then during the 1960s came Federal support for all public libraries regardless of their size, for libraries in the colleges and universities (via Title II-A, Higher Education Act of 1965), and for the development of libraries in the public schools (through Title II, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965). With the exception of those supported by business and industry, all types of libraries were thus covered by Federal legislation, though the level of support to be made available each year has been and remains a subject of much debate.

Meanwhile new needs and pressures have been bringing major changes in the character of the library. Two centuries ago books were for the wealthy and libraries scarce; today Americans are confronted by a "knowledge explosion" that has in turn produced what might be called a "publications avalanche." Drug stores, airline and train terminals, cigar counters, supermarkets, and a vast number of bookstores make reading fare available in amounts that stagger the imagination. There are book clubs by the score and new ones come into being every year. Radio and television offer instantaneous awareness of political and social developments around the world. Far from diminishing the use of library services, however, this outpouring of information, entertainment, and enlightenment has created a greater appetite for them, and in the process has produced not only more library patrons, but also those with highly specialized demands.

Concomitantly, the scientific and technical communities now publish so extensively that advancement in these fields has become a significant challenge to the capacity of any individual to keep abreast. Inevitably libraries will have to play a major role in finding ways to deal with this dilemma. They will similarly have to adjust to the fact that while graphic records will continue to be important, they face growing competition from other means of storing and conveying information. Wider use of television, radio, and other electronic media—and increasingly the computer—suggest that many of the libraries of the future will be far different in their equipment and operation from those we know today.

Even more fundamental than such changes as these, however, has been the evolving role of the library as a focal point for community action. Most strikingly in the inner city but by no means confined to such areas, the library is no longer seen simply as a place where an individual can go to read a book or borrow a phonograph record. By the particular resources it can assemble and through special new programs and activities, it is becoming a headquarters for cultural and social interaction and a base for achieving community progress.

In their role as custodians of all of man's records, not merely his books, libraries will continue to evolve. New responsibilities and new techniques, however, will in no way diminish their heritage as the rallying point for Americans taking a stand "in defense of their privileges."



—KATHLEEN MOLZ

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Here's How

There are 40 textbooks, one for each member of the class. Problem: How to distribute them to the pupils in a manner that reflects "habits of neatness and order"? A manual published in the early 1860s by the Public School Society of New York shows the way.

The pupil should stand erect,—his heels near together,—toes turned out,—and his eyes directed to the face of the person speaking to him.

FIGURE ONE represents the Book Monitor with a pile of books across his left arm, with the backs from him, and with the top of the page to the right hand.

FIGURE TWO represents the Book Monitor, with the right hand hands the book to the Pupil, who receives it in his right hand, with the back of the book to the left; and then passes it into the left hand, where it is held with the back upwards, and with the thumb extended at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edge of the book (as in figure 2,) until a further order is given.

FIGURE THREE—When the page is given out, the book is turned by the thumb on the side; and, while held with both hands, is turned with the back downwards, with the thumbs meeting across the leaves, at a point judged to be nearest the place to be found. On opening the book, the left hand slides down to the bottom, and thence to the middle, where the thumb and little finger are made to press on the two opposite pages. If the Pupil should have thus lit upon the page sought for, he lets fall the right hand by the side, and his position is that of Fig. 3.

FIGURE FOUR—But, if he has opened short of the page required, the thumb of the right hand is to be placed near the upper corner of the page, as seen in Fig. 4; while the forefinger lifts the leaves to bring into view the number of the page. If he finds that he has not raised enough, the forefinger and thumb hold those already raised, while the second finger lifts the leaves, and brings them within the grasp of the thumb and finger. When the page required is found, all the fingers are to be passed under the leaves, and the whole turned at once. Should the Pupil, on the contrary, have opened too far, and be obliged to turn back, he places the right thumb, in like manner, on the left-hand page, and the leaves are lifted as before described.

FIGURE FIVE—Should the book be old, or so large as to be wearisome to hold, the right hand may sustain the left, as seen in Fig. 5.

FIGURE SIX and SEVEN—While reading, as the eye rises to the top of the right-hand page, the right hand is brought to the position seen in Fig. 4; and, with the forefinger under the leaf, the hand is slid down to the lower corner, and retained there during the reading of this page, as seen in Fig. 6. This also is the position in which the book is to be held when about to be closed; in doing which, the left hand, being carried up to the side, supports the book firmly and unmoved, while the right hand turns the part it supports over on the left thumb, as seen in Fig. 7. The thumb will then be drawn out from between the leaves, and placed on the cover; when the right hand will fall by the side, as seen in Fig. 2.

FIGURE EIGHT—But, if the reading has ended, the right hand retains the book, and the left hand falls by the side, as seen in Fig. 8. The book will now be in a position to be handed to the Book Monitor; who receives it in his right hand, and places it on his left arm, with the back towards his body. The books are now in the most suitable situation for being passed to the shelves or drawers, where, without being crowded, they should be placed with uniformity and care.

THE FEMALE EQUATION

BY KATHRYN G. HEATH

Sixteen years before *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* by Mary Wollstonecraft was published in England, a Colonial woman on the other side of the Atlantic wrote a prophetic letter to a delegate to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. The date was March 31, 1776—midway between the New Year's Day publication of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

The author of the letter was Abigail Adams, wife of one future President and mother of another, who had learned to read and write without benefit of the formal schooling usually reserved for her peers of the opposite sex. Its recipient was her husband, whom she admonished:

"*...in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors....If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice or Representation....*"

A century later, however, and for almost a century after that, educational opportunities as well as laws remained considerably less than "generous and favourable" as far as "the Ladies" were concerned. Even so, there were some indications along the way that men might

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be forced one day to face the female equation.

An early sign arose in 1819 when Emma Willard issued *An Address to the Public; Particularly to the Members of the Legislature of New York Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education*. A Magna Charta for the higher schooling of women, the plan called for public endowment of an institution that would offer systematized instruction having educational substance. The legislature proved apathetic but the citizens of the town of Troy came to her aid, and the Troy Female Seminary she founded in 1821 led to others. For example, Catharine Beecher, an early advocate of domestic science, opened a school in Hartford in 1822 and later the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati. An activist in what she termed "securing professional advantages of education for my sex equal to those bestowed on men," she sought to arouse the public to endow still other institutions for the liberal education of women.

In 1828, a different approach to the encouragement of female education began to unfold. Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, a writer who had been tutored by her Dartmouth brother, began to publish the new *Ladies Magazine*. Two years later Louis A. Godey started *The Lady's Book*, and in 1837—a landmark year as it developed—bought out his competition and ensconced Mrs. Hale as literary editor. Her work quickly gained a national reputation for Godey. One of her never-ending purposes and certainly her favorite reform effort was the education of females to become more than hearthside hostesses. Step by step through the years she campaigned for high schools for girls, promoted the idea of normal schools and colleges for women, even outrageously urged medical education for women at a time when such training was regarded as plainly inappropriate for "delicate souls." The conclusion of her editorial career of nearly a half a century marked the beginning of the upsurge in higher education opportunities for women throughout the land.

Far-reaching events other than the influence of *The Lady's Book* made 1837 a historic year for women. That was the year for realization of the dream and crystallization of the career of Mary Lyon, who wanted young women to have the chance to attend a seminary of superior academic quality at an inferior price. Against almost interminable discouragements, she raised funds through private philanthropy for a distinguished institution that offered its first instruction in 1837 and, in time, became Mount Holyoke College. That year also saw the inauguration of co-education at the college level, and three of the first four women for the four-year course received their B.A. degrees in 1841 from Oberlin Collegiate Institute.

Their matriculation proved, however, to be something less than a recognition of the principle of equality of educational opportunity for the two sexes, for they were barred from the study of Greek or Latin on the ground that the "rigors of these languages" were too great for the "female mind." Moreover, a gross disparity in timing was involved. The decision to establish the institution soon known as Harvard College was made in 1636, and the first class of "English and Indian youth"—meaning males—was admitted two years later. By contrast, 199 years were to pass before the first door was opened to baccalaureate degrees for women. And for that matter, it took another half century before Harvard's coordinate sister, Radcliffe College, offered instruction resulting in conferral (in 1894) of the first baccalaureate degree on a "Cliffie."

In any case, the early decades of the 19th century did at least see the first steps toward introducing women to organized secondary and postsecondary education, tentative though that introduction may have been. In addition, an alternative to privately financed education for women also had begun to emerge. A State law enacted in 1827 required towns of a certain size in Massachusetts to employ a master to offer "instruction of utility" to young lads, and towns of a larger size to broaden that instruction to include such subjects as Greek and Latin. To get their money's worth, these towns sometimes allowed girls to fill empty places in the classes. A more subtle but in the long run more significant development also occurred in Massachusetts in the form of laws enacted between 1827 and 1834 that required tax support for public schools and declared them free to pupils.

Ultimately this concept of universal tax-supported schooling was to give a dramatic new dimension to the principle of equality set forth in the Declaration of Independence, but that time was not at hand in 1840. Witness the Sixth Decennial Census conducted that year. At the instigation of Henry Barnard of Connecticut (later to be the first U.S. Commissioner of Education), statistics about schooling were included for the first time. Women, however, like blacks and Indians, were not considered in the enumeration of citizens over the age of 20 who could neither read nor write.

Similarly, women abolitionists were excluded from delegate participation in a World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1841, even when they represented antislavery groups composed entirely of females. For two of the women thus excluded, that action was the last straw. Said Elizabeth Cady Stanton to her friend Lucretia Mott, "When we return home, we must hold a convention and form a society to advance the rights of women." The result was the first women's rights conference the Nation had ever seen, convened in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York.

And so it was that three quarters of a century after Abigail Adams made her prediction, the rebellion surfaced. The history of mankind, the delegates declared in their overriding "sentiment," is "a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." Buttressing this "sentiment" were 15 "facts" which they submitted "to a candid world." The one on education declared: "He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed to her." This statement was almost but not quite true. College doors already had opened to women, but by so small a crack that the 300 men and women at the Seneca Falls Conference evidently had not yet noticed it.

In any case the Abigail Adams rebellion had been launched, though numerous other developments proved to be necessary before it achieved substance or even significant recognition.

One such development occurred in 1862 while the Nation's Civil War was raging. President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act as the first of a series of Federal laws providing grants of land and other support for establishment and maintenance of what became known as the "Land-Grant" institutions of higher learning. None of these laws contained provisions specifically discriminating against females. Nevertheless, initial practice in the States often barred women from admission, and even after that situation began to be eased they were either excluded or else denied anything approaching equal access to programs in certain fields—forestry, law, and medicine, for example—on grounds that these were not "women's fields" or that women would not put into productive use the expensive training involved.

Still, the Land-Grant institutions did open up wider opportunities for women—

not only in these institutions but in an array of private institutions of higher learning, including many women's colleges established primarily in the East. As Mary Woolley put it during her Mount Holyoke College presidency, the era of expansion from about 1875 until the first World War was marked "by an advance in the education of women such as the world has never seen." Moreover, with the incentive thus established to prepare more students for higher education, schools below collegiate level began to be created at an accelerated rate, and females were the incidental beneficiaries.

Meanwhile, the Civil War brought a fresh examination of Congressional power under the Constitution to "provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States." There ensued a new exploration of the scope of power at Federal level and of those areas—education was one—involving concerns and issues that transcend State lines. One consequence was a memorial to the Congress resulting in legislation enacted March 2, 1867, and establishing what was to become the U.S. Office of Education. It was created, according to language in the law, to "aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

Henry Barnard, the first Commissioner of Education, immediately developed a *Plan of Publication* calling for a series of studies of what he saw as some of the major educational issues confronting the Nation. One was entitled "Female Education, with an account of different seminaries for females in this country and in Europe." The subtitle was a telling clue to women's contemporary educational and employment status. Seminaries were at a lower level than colleges, and those seminaries open to women did not offer training in such "men's fields" as the ministry, law, medicine, agriculture, and the mechanical arts.

Shortly thereafter (in June of 1867) the Commissioner issued a *Circular Respecting Female Education*, seeking current information from leaders in education at home and abroad. Though the leaders were men, Commissioner Barnard's initiative was of no small moment to the women's rights movement. This particular request inaugurated the Federal practice of routinely collecting, analyzing, and disseminating data on the educational status of girls and women. It also established the foothold for Federal action in the evolution that was to make the national Government a partner, albeit an often reluctant one, in the rebellion Abigail Adams had foreseen and the Seneca Falls Conference had launched.

One such development occurred in 1909 with the convening of the first in a series of White House Conferences on Children and Youth. Out of that initial meeting came, in 1912, the establishment of the Children's Bureau, whose work in getting States to outlaw child labor served to supplement an Office of Education drive to encourage compulsory school attendance throughout the land, with girls again being incidental beneficiaries in both cases. Seven years later the Secretary of War, impressed by the contributions of local women's groups in meeting the Nation's needs in 1917-18, authorized some special funds to stimulate attendance at a conference held in St. Louis in 1919 which resulted in the founding of The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Indignant over the prevalent attitude that the education of girls was less important than that of boys, the Federation mounted as one of its early programs a nationwide campaign, carried out through State and local clubs with the cooperation of leaders in education, to encourage girls to stay in school beyond the eighth grade.

The following year, 1920, brought some landmark advances in the drive for women's rights, again with action at the Federal level. June 5 marked the establishment of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, with responsibility for formulating standards and policies to promote the welfare of wage-earning women. Its early studies made official what women already knew: Regardless of how much education they had, they occupied the low rungs on the employment ladder. Then on August 26 came the addition to the Constitution of the 19th Amendment, enfranchising women nationwide – 72 years after such action had been called for at the Seneca Falls Conference and 50 years after the antislavery 15th Amendment recognized the right to vote for "citizens of the United States" (a term that did not extend to females, as Susan B. Anthony demonstrated when she was arrested and convicted for trying to enter a polling booth in 1872).

Momentous though the 19th Amendment was, the celebration of that breakthrough was considerably dimmed by the fact that women as individuals still were excluded by the Supreme Court from coverage by the 14th Amendment, adopted in 1868 and prohibiting "persons" (interpreted as males) from being denied "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws." A case in point was that of Myra Bradwell in 1872. Though she had duly been educated in law, an Illinois statute was used to deny her the right to practice. The United States Supreme Court upheld the State law and refused to apply the 14th Amendment in her case, though it did so in employment suits involving males, including alien men. It was, in fact, not until 1971, in *Reed v. Reed*, that the Court began to change its stance.

Winning the right to vote was nevertheless a major victory for women, but it was one of the last they were to claim at the national level until World War II. They continued, of course, to make progress on their own. Despite accumulating evidence that females were treated as second-class citizens by the schools and colleges, when war clouds broke over the horizon in 1939 the United States could claim the lion's share of the best-educated women in the world. In the military and in civilian capacities ranging from Rosie the Riveter to entrepreneur, they won the Nation's respect. But not to the extent, as individual leaders and various women's groups insistently pointed out, that they were treated on an equitable basis with men. In education, for example, male faculty members received far higher salaries than their female counterparts, men overwhelmingly dominated the ranks of school administrators, and countless women were snubbed by professional schools.

Winds of change finally began to blow with the establishment in 1961 of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and a follow-up drive by The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs to organize similar commissions at the State level, a move that ultimately resulted in formation of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women. It was not until March of 1963, however, that the modern women's liberation movement was launched by the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*, a book that established Betty Friedan as the Thomas Paine of the rebellion Abigail Adams had called for nearly two centuries earlier.

This call to action was followed in October by *American Women*, the report of the President's Commission and the first effort to produce a composite picture of the status of women for purposes of national policy-making. The report called, for example, for a drastic revision of the structure of education so as to provide for "practicable and accessible opportunities developed with regard for the needs of women, to complete elementary and secondary school and to continue education beyond high school...." Less than a month later President Kennedy established an Interdepartmental Committee and a Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and not by coincidence Congress shortly thereafter authorized Federal assistance for adult basic education in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and for continuing education in the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Such advances were accompanied, however, by a noteworthy setback involving the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As women leaders were quick to point out, though this controversial legislation was strong in prohibiting discrimination in public education on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, it was silent on sex discrimination. Thus, they said, educational institutions could and did continue to discriminate against girls and women in admissions, the right to take particular courses, and opportunities for scholarships and fellowships. Moreover, women performing educational duties in educational institutions were exempted from coverage under the equal employment opportunity provisions of the law, thus affirming such existing practices as lower pay for women than for men, fewer opportunities for promotion, and poorer fringe benefits. These injuries were in turn compounded, the women felt, when the related Executive Order 11246—issued the next year—ignored sex discrimination under thousands of Federal contracts with schools and colleges and under federally assisted construction contracts.

Number 11246 was destined to become one of the more noted of the Executive Orders that are issued from time to time, for it attracted the particular attention of the various new activist groups that were coming into being. One of these was the National Organization for Women, more familiarly known as NOW. Founded in October of 1966, NOW was the first of what soon became an array of vigorous organizations established to fight for women's rights, and its members promptly selected Executive Order 11246 as a primary target. Lobbying their case with the Department of Justice, the Civil Service Commission, the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and the White House itself, they were able just 12 months later to point with considerable satisfaction to Executive Order 11375, which amended its predecessor by adding a prohibition of discrimination by sex.

That was no small victory, for the revised Order was the first (and for a time the only) Federal mandate bearing on the situation. Although some observers initially may have seen this administrative fiat as little more than a palliative to some irate females, its potential was to be made clear by another of the new activist groups—the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). Organized in November of 1968, WEAL jolted academe 14 months later by starting to file specific and class action charges against hundreds of institutions of higher learning in virtually every section of the Nation, accusing them of discrimination by sex and relying on the amended Order. In the following year, and again relying on the revised Order as its authority, came another sweeping attack, this time by the newly established Professional Women's Caucus, organized to cut across the professions and thus assure a spectrum of expertise in activities aimed at opening up educational and professional opportunities for girls and women. Charges by the Caucus were directed at all law schools having Federal contracts. *In total, more than* 2,500 accredited institutions of higher learning found themselves under class action charges.

Thus did the drive for women's rights gain momentum, leading to a number of additional advances at the Federal level. In mid-1970 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights notified its regional directors that "investigations of sex discrimination must be a part of all compliance review, and . . .all affirmative action plans in the future must address themselves to overcoming matters of sex discrimination."

Meanwhile, encouraged by Republican Congresswomen, President Nixon in 1969 had appointed a Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. Out of the recommendations contained in its subsequent report—*A Matter of Simple Justice*—came such developments as the appointment of the first woman counselor to the President and the establishment of an Office of Women's Programs in the White House; extension of the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to include sex discrimination; additions to equal pay provisions of the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938 to cover executive, administrative, and professional employees, including teachers; and establishment of a Women's Program Staff in the Office of Education. Also sparked by the report were establishment of the Secretary's Advisory Committee on Women's Rights and Responsibilities and appointment of a task force in the Office of Education to examine and advise on the impact on women of programs administered by the Department as a whole and the Office of Education in particular.

By application of such administrative pressure, the women's rights movement was achieving change, but the pace was frustratingly glacial. It was time, the women's groups and their supporters determined, to renew their efforts along that most characteristically American route to redress of grievances—through legislation. Thus as the Nation entered its bicentennial decade, a concentrated drive was launched to achieve through new legislation the equity that the inertia of custom and tradition denied.

Among the landmark Federal legislation enacted thereafter was an amendment to the Public Health Service Act adopted in November of 1971 which forced some 1,400 schools and training centers in medical and other health fields to open their doors as wide to women as to men—as a condition for further Federal financial assistance. Beyond its more visible impact, this legislative breakthrough brought home what was quickly recognized as a guiding principle. As Carnegie Corporation President Alan Pifer put it, "Without the threat of coercion it seems unlikely higher education would have budged an inch on this issue. Certainly it had every chance to do so and failed."

Then an organized lobbying blitzkrieg in the 92nd Congress by women's groups and their supporters proved successful—after 49 years of struggle—in winning endorsement by both houses of the Congress of a joint resolution proposing an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. "Equality of rights under the law," it declares, "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Final action on the resolution calling for the amendment, which now is in the hands of the States for the necessary 38 ratifications, came on March 22, 1972.

Two days later the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 broadened the purview of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include persons (a word that now at last includes women) employed by States and their political subdivisions and those employed in educational activities in private as well as public educational institutions.

Three months after that came the Education Amendments of 1972, a far-reaching act that included a legal blockbuster on behalf of girls and women. With specified exceptions, it declared, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Since the great majority of schools and colleges do in fact receive such assistance, and want to continue doing so, the recently proposed Federal regulations for carrying out this act charts a level of change not far from revolutionary.

From these major legislative advances—and from other legislative action that is filling in the gaps, from an array of court decisions and consent decrees, and from the vigorous campaign to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment—come the signs that the female equation will one day be brought into balance. That day may not be just around the corner. Nevertheless, as the Nation prepares to celebrate its 200th anniversary, it is reasonable to expect that the rebellion which Abigail Adams sought to foment in 1776—like the one her husband then was engaged in—will be crowned with success. □

One Woman's

When Emma Hart Willard was born in 1787 education beyond the arts of homemaking was foreclosed to American girls. Even the contemporary Latin grammar schools were off limits to them, and no college anywhere – not just in the United States but throughout the world – accepted women students. By the time she died in 1870, women were not only attending American high schools but many of the brightest and most determined among them were earning college degrees and launching professional careers.

In a remarkable career spanning 66 years, Mrs. Willard laid much of the groundwork for this advance in the educational status of women. In her quiet way she was a relentless and successful champion of higher education for women in a period often marked by bombast and tortured rhetoric. Emma Willard was given to neither. Rather, she placed her reliance on facts, figures, well reasoned argumentation, and perhaps above all, personal example – demonstrating from her own teaching experience that women were as capable of serious academic pur-

EMMA WILLARD (1787-1870)

Fight

suits as were men. She gradually convinced male educators and legislators alike that access to a college education was as much the birthright of women as of men, and that the struggling young republic had a better chance to survive if its women were educated to the political and economic realities of the times. Her *Plan for Improving Female Education* ultimately was instrumental, after many setbacks, in influencing the New York legislature to provide State funds for women's colleges, including Troy Female Seminary, later Emma Willard College, the last and most famous of the the three institutions for women she founded.

As teacher and administrator, she was not easily dismayed by lack of support or a scarcity of funds or basic educational materials. When she lacked textbooks or examinations of an academic rigor to match her demanding standards, she wrote her own. She coauthored a geography, one of the first with maps and pictures, that became a standard text in many schools. She wrote a moving history of the Republic. When she needed hands-on materials to teach her girls the principles of solid geometry, she made cones and pyramids out of potatoes and turnips.

Emma Hart began life under the usual female constraints of the late 18th century, with an important exception. The 16th child of a self-educated farmer, she grew up in a home near Berlin, Connecticut, where Chaucer, Milton, and Shakespeare were read aloud on long winter evenings, and daughters as well as sons were encouraged to think for themselves. During the Revolution her father had led a company of Connecticut volunteers against the British and later served as a member of the nascent Connecticut General Assembly. In addition to encouraging his daughter to exercise her natural intellect and curiosity, he gave her an abiding faith that America would fulfill the promises of its Founding Fathers if gifted men and women used their talents toward this end. It was a winning combination.

Emma went as far as she could in the schools of her day and began teaching at the age of 17, first in her home town, later in Middlebury, Vermont, where she met and married John Willard, a distinguished physician some years her senior. Not long after their son was born the family was beset by financial reverses when a bank in which Dr. Willard served as a director was robbed and he was required to make up some of the loss to depositors from his own resources. Having advanced her own education by reading through her husband's entire medical library, Mrs. Willard responded to the family financial crisis by turning her home into a school for girls. Since she was exploring largely uncharted territory, her first step was to determine, with her own selection of academic subjects and her own teaching methods, exactly how much education young women were prepared to absorb and their parents to find proper.

She started with music, drawing, and penmanship—subjects no one was likely to quarrel with—but gradually introduced foreign languages, mathematics, philosophy, history, and literature. Under her patient, challenging tutelage, the girls did well. Parents were delighted to see that the Middlebury Female Academy graduated daughters who were still "female" despite being demonstrably intelligent. The school was a huge success.

Based on her experience in Middlebury, Mrs. Willard prepared her *Plan for Improving Female Education*. Essentially, the plan advocated a system of State-supported academies for women. Such academies, she said, would better prepare young women to be wives and mothers (and incidentally citizens), train them as competent teachers of the young, and strengthen the social vitality of the Republic. Believing New York more receptive than Connecticut to such an undertaking, she presented her plan to that State's legislature. She also circulated the proposal publicly and received encouraging responses from President James Monroe and from former Presidents Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, though they seemed to represent a minority opinion. The prevailing view was summed up by a New York farmer who said, "They'll be educating the cows next."

The legislature repeatedly refused financial support but did grant a charter for an Academy for Young Ladies in Waterford, which Mrs. Willard and her husband operated briefly until it became obvious that tuition revenues alone could not sustain the school. When the citizens of Troy invited them to found a new school in that thriving Hudson River commercial center, they gladly accepted.

Troy Female Seminary opened in 1821. Mrs. Willard was 34 years old and soon to be a widow. For almost 50 years thereafter, except for a brief second marriage and a short time back in Middlebury, she made the seminary her home base and the focal point of her ever-expanding efforts in behalf of education for women. Her school accepted rich girls and poor, girls from cultured city homes and those from frontier outposts. Through the years she arranged loans of some $75,000 to students to finance their education. Conscious of the need for trained teachers in the western territories, she made a special effort to attract young women willing to pursue professional careers there.

As her second school grew in fame and acceptance, she was able to broaden the base of her resources. When Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was founded for young men just up the hill from the seminary, for example, she arranged for her girls to attend many of the scientific lectures presented there. She continued to have difficulty in obtaining State support, however, and it was not until 1837 that the school finally received a small State allowance. The impact of Mrs. Willard's seminary was nevertheless deep and pervasive. In *Emma Willard, Pioneer Educator of American Women*, written in connection with the school's 150th anniversary, Alma Lutz notes that its success did much to pave the way for Vassar, Elmira, Mary Sharp, and other women's colleges as well as the opening of Iowa State University and the University of Utah as coeducational institutions.

At age 50, Mrs. Willard turned over supervision of the seminary to her younger sister (and later to her son) to embark on new ventures. She traveled to Europe, where she met and exchanged views with many of the most distinguished educators there. On her return she spent some time in Connecticut working with Henry Barnard, destined to become the first U.S. Commissioner of Education, toward providing greater opportunities for girls in the common schools of that State. Then returning to Troy, she devoted much attention in remaining years to similar efforts nationwide.

"My lot," she had said, "is cast with my sex and my country." Her life was an exceptional tribute to both.

—STORY MOOREFIELD

OE's Office of Public Affairs staff.

An American Paradox

"Built like a scarecrow, a gangling, pin-headed, flat-topped oaf. But what would anyone expect? He was just a teacher." (That is Washington Irving's superstitious, simple, Ichabod Crane.)

"A ridiculous figure, his bald head covered with an ill-fitting wig...a man who had aspired to be a doctor but who had been forced by poverty to be nothing more than a schoolmaster." (That is Mark Twain's description of Old Dobbins.)

"Their teacher was a gaunt, red-faced spinster, with fierce, glaring eyes." (That is Thomas Wolfe in *Look Homeward, Angel.*)

These fictional teachers are part of a peculiarly American paradox — a paradox compounded of a high regard for education on one hand and the generally low regard that has usually been accorded teachers on the other. Time and the kind of people entering the profession have enormously elevated the status of teachers, of course, but historically they have drawn mixed reviews, as witness Willard S. Elsbree on the Colonial schoolmaster:

"He was a God-fearing clergyman, he was an unmitigated rogue; he was amply paid, he was accorded a bare pittance; he made teaching a life career, he used it merely as a steppingstone; he was a classical scholar, he was all but illiterate; he was licensed by bishop or Colonial governor, he was certified only by his own pretentions; he was a cultured gentleman, he was a crude-mannered yokel; he ranked with the cream of society, he was regarded as menial. In short, he was neither a type nor a personality, but a statistical distribution represented by a skewed curve."

Somewhere on that curve appeared Joannes Van Ecklen, who signed a contract in 1682 to "keep school" in the town of Flatbush, Long Island. Five hours a day, six days a week, from September to June, Joannes taught a class of about 16 children (some schoolmasters handled more than 100). He received the tuition fees plus a salary — with the use of a dwelling, barn, pasture, and meadow thrown in.

With no lesson plans to draw up, few papers to grade, no curriculum materials to select, no conferences to attend, Joannes would have run out of things to do, even after making quills, the most time-consuming adjunct to teaching. So it was understood he would take a second job — as minister's assistant, though had he lived elsewhere he might have been juryman, town crier, registrar of probate, or tradesman. (John Thelwell of Wilmington, Delaware, held so many extra jobs that someone recalled: "It would be easier to say what he did not do than to recount his numerous duties.")

As minister's assistant, Joannes was to "keep the church clean. . .serve as messenger for the consistory. . .give the funeral invitations, dig the graves, and toll the bell. . . ." He was of course paid extra for this moonlighting.

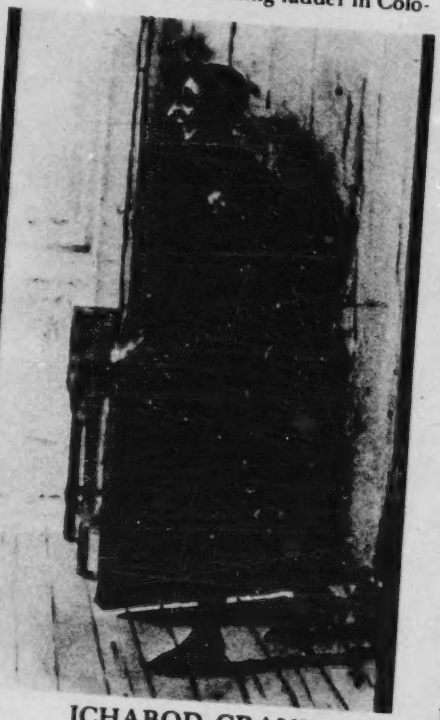
Considerably further up the social scale were the schoolmasters of New England's Latin grammar schools. Usually coming from wealthy or at least well-connected families, these pedagogues were charged with preparing the sons of other well-to-do parents for college, though many regarded this task as a barely bearable stop-gap until they could arrange more lucrative and prestigious careers.

Lowest on the teaching ladder in Colonial times was the "dame" — a housewife, often the spouse of the local minister, seeking extra income. She listened to the younger children recite their letters and the older ones read and spell from their primers while she sewed or knitted. It was the dame who polished manners, instructed the youngsters in how to bow and curtsy properly, and impressed on them the importance of avoiding such vulgarities as "stepping on vermin in the sight of others." The first dame to set up shop in Northfield, Massachusetts, reported that she cared for 20 youngsters during the summer months and found time to "make shirts for the Indians at eight pence each."

Procedures for hiring teachers were fairly uniform throughout New England. A selectman or town father recruited candidates who then stood for approval by the minister and before a town meeting. Outlying areas settled for anyone answering an ad or located by hearsay. As for Joannes Van Ecklen, the people in Flatbush were doubtless more concerned with whether he held a license from the British governor of New York which guaranteed his religious conformity than with his academic achievements.

The schoolmaster's wages were usually low, since he was in most instances deemed an unproductive worker, a tolerated necessity, a cheap commodity. He represented the budget item that could most readily be squeezed for greater community economy. Whether such treatment was the cause or the effect, townspeople found that hiring a schoolmaster could be risky. One was accused of paying "more attention to the tavern than to the school"; another was fired for "obtaining articles from stores in the name of the rector and taking them to pawnshops." Contracts were usually written for a year and if the schoolmaster failed — whether for reasons of drinking, using profanity, piling up debts, behaving "unseemly" toward women, or simply for being unpopular with the community — he'd move on or make a change in his profession.

In a society where picking apples on the sabbath brought a fine, the schoolmaster's comportment was narrowly prescribed. Joannes Van Ecklen came a cropper when he and some other locals took issue with a group of wealthy landowners. He was promptly fired and replaced. He then added to his offense by setting up a competing school. This enter



ICHABOD CRANE

prise was halted by a cease and desist order, and Van Ecklen dropped out of sight for a while, though he seems later to have returned to teaching in Flatbush, presumably made more tractable by his experience.

Though political activity such as his was not to be tolerated, a much more common cause for dismissal in Colonial days and for a long time thereafter had to do with maintaining discipline. The schoolmaster with insufficient skill in keeping prank-prone boys in line could never feel secure. If he ousted troublemakers wholesale his school gained a reputation for being too hard. If he permitted insubordination he was a "poor manager." In any case the whipping post, the ferule, and later the hickory stick became indispensable allies of some teachers. A North Carolina schoolmaster developed a set of rules starring the stick – three lashes for calling each other names, for example, two for blotting a copy book, three for failing to bow to visitors.

Some schoolmasters, especially those with advanced degrees, were accorded the title of Mister and assigned prominent pews in the church – important social indicators in Colonial times. While such teachers moved in aristocratic society, others arrived as indentured slaves bringing a lesser price than convicts.

Came the Revolution – and if the schoolmaster wasn't called to arms, he found himself in a nonessential career. In those schools that continued to operate, the teacher had trouble finding classroom materials. Hostilities had cut off what had in any case been a sparse supply of books, imported from England. Moreover, the content of the texts that remained had become instantly unsuitable, since they were of course British in character. Revised versions were ultimately issued, one of the most popular being, *A New England Primer* (which taught "millions to read and not one to sin"), but for some time spellers still contained honorary English titles and math books ignored decimal currency.

In the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, the idea of free, tax-supported schools took root and teachers seemed headed for a new lease on life. Education leaders rose to influence, literature on the importance of education abounded, statutes appeared in State constitutions indicating a recognition of the obligation to provide education for all. What most impressed a New England schoolteacher during the early part of the 19th century, however, was his school's lack of an outhouse and the community's failure to provide a manageable building or even maintain a proper supply of firewood. He and his pupils nearly froze in the mornings and almost suffocated by the smoke later in the day. He figured out that his school had seen 37 teachers in 30 years.

Change nevertheless was in the wind, though not all were to welcome its arrival. There was the matter, for example, of teacher preparation. The notion that teachers, like bookkeepers, required special training was regarded by many old-timers as an affront to their dignity and an unwarranted reflection upon their competence. But the country was growing in land and people, demand was increasing for a more sophisticated work force, and the need for teachers able to help build such a work force became acute. The result of these pressures was the establishment of numerous institutions specifically focused on teacher training – normal schools, as they were called. About a dozen came into being between 1834 and the Civil War, and for the remainder of the century they were established at a rate of

two or three a year. Normal schools offered one-year (and later, longer) courses that taxed neither the pocketbook nor the mind. Men were admitted, but it was young ladies who flocked to them.

The first normal school students came straight from elementary school; if they retained a smattering of what they had learned there they were acceptable. After a few years the standards were raised to require two years of high school. Not until after 1900 was high school graduation a prerequisite. Highbrow education was not the goal of these young ladies. Some may have had a desire to serve mankind through teaching, but many were seeking a profitable way to spend the time between school years and marriage.

With the institution of grade levels in the schools and the consequent separation of the younger from the older children, the argument no longer held that females made unsuitable teachers because they could not handle obstreperous older boys. It had to be conceded that they could at least cope with the younger children, the Boston Board of Education declaring, for example, that women were "infinitely more fit than males to be the guides and exemplars of young children"; that they possessed milder manners, purer morals, which makes "the society of children delightful, and turns duty into pleasure."

Not everyone jumped on the distaff bandwagon. A Rhode Island superintendent insisted that no matter how well qualified, a female teacher could not be employed "for the same reason she cannot so well manage a vicious horse or other animal, as a man may do."

But the voices of dissension soon became muted, and before long, women were appearing in classrooms everywhere. In 1862, New Jersey reported: "It is somewhat remarkable that the number of female teachers has been gradually increasing from year to year, until it now exceeds the number of male teachers. . . ." Other States were soon to report similar experiences. The Civil War would ring the final knell to teaching as a predominantly male profession.

The average woman teacher, because of her youth, because she was not career minded, because she was ignorant of national affairs, did not involve herself with the State and local teachers' associations that were forming. She was seen as having no interest in educational reform and in any case insufficient knowledge and experience to contribute to it. Those who tried found themselves subjected to sometimes humiliating discriminatory practices. Women were, to be sure, welcomed by the new National Teachers Association, founded in 1857, which later became the National Education Association (NEA). But in those days if a female wanted to present a paper, regulations required that it be read for her by a male member.

Meanwhile as education leaders debated whether teaching could be reduced to a science and if physical culture and singing belonged in the "regular branches," the great body of teachers was more concerned with the practical problems involved in "boarding out" or the personal penalties their careers exacted of them.

The male teacher had long "boarded around" on the theory that close association with local families would give him a better understanding of the students and the community. Not that this was the teacher's idea. Living as a guest afforded little privacy, no guarantee of nourishing food or warm quarters, limited control over leisure time, and the frequent discomfort of long trudges to and from school. It was simply a cheap way to support the schools. A Pennsylvania county superintendent argued: "By this mode the burden of boarding the teacher is never felt; whereas if the teacher were boarded in one place, and money paid therefore, the cash cost of supporting our schools would be nearly double."

Historian Mason Stone tells of a Vermont schoolmaster who suffered a diet of tough gander. The bird was served at a Monday dinner and thereafter for each meal, including breakfast, for the rest of the week. The schoolmaster confided in his diary: "Dinner—cold gander again; didn't keep school this afternoon; weighed and found I had lost six pounds the last week; grew alarmed; had a talk with Mr. B. and concluded I had boarded out his share."

Because women were more trouble to board than men and fewer homes offered them hospitality, boarding around was gradually "phased out" during the second half of the 1800s. Nevertheless, the teacher continued to have little personal freedom and to be the object of close scrutiny—except, curiously enough, in the area of professional skills. Few laymen, or educators for that matter, were competent to judge teaching ability and fewer still bothered to try. The situation changed somewhat with the advent of county superintendents, but even then teachers could expect an inspection visit only about once a year. Moreover, county superintendents were elected to their positions, and some were merely inept political hacks who looked at outside paint with more diligence than they reviewed performance in the classroom. Many others, however, conscientiously did their best to cover their territories with horse and buggy and do whatever they could to make schooling more effective. The situation sometimes

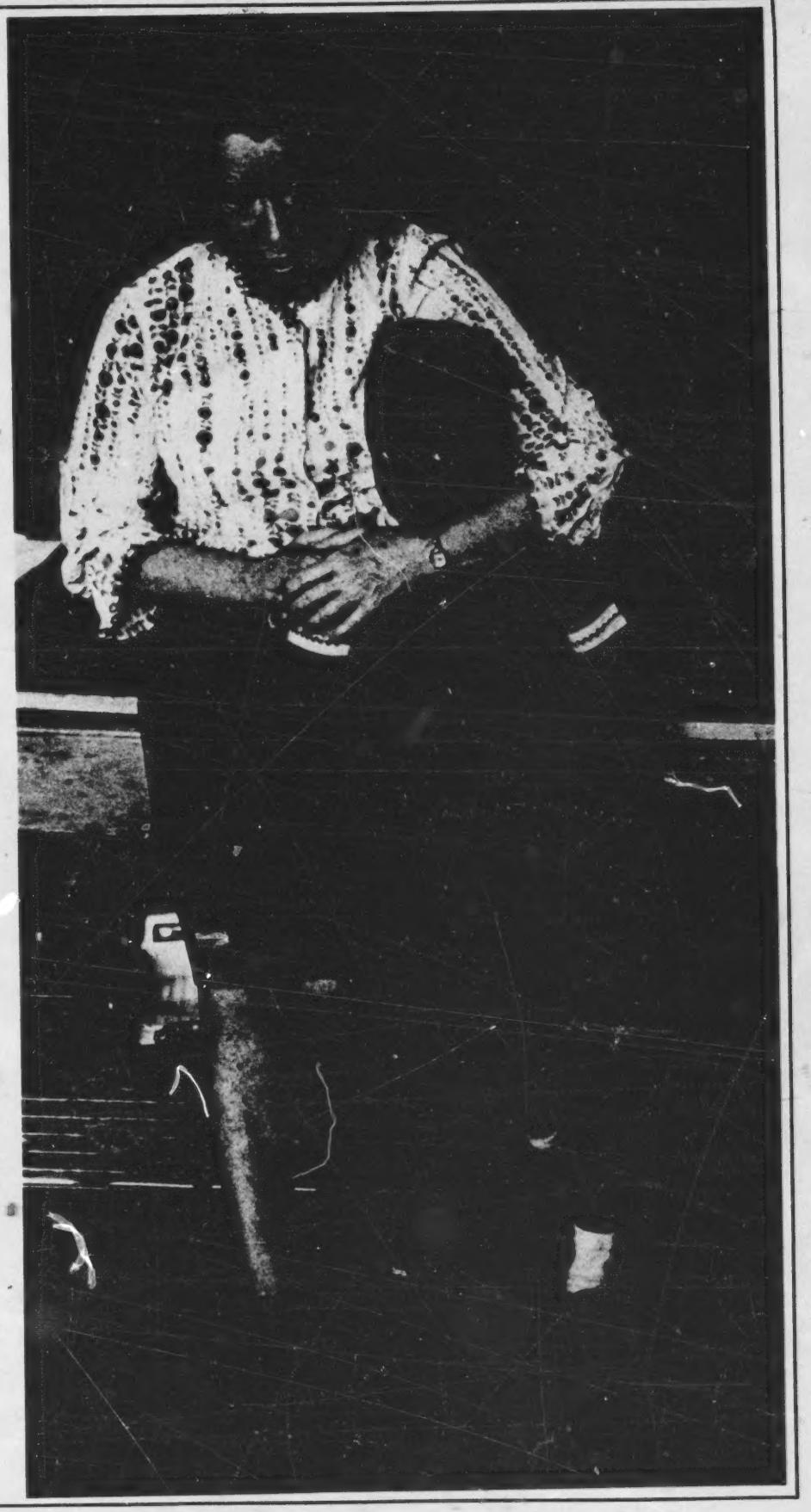
discouraged even the most ebullient of them. A Pennsylvania superintendent, for instance, found that "not a scholar in the school could tell me what country he lived in." Not that the situation was universally this dismal. There was at least one good teacher to match each poor one, and in many instances the teacher was held in the highest regard.

As many of the traveling superintendents observed, however, the situation was disturbingly spotty, and the feeling grew that if the schools were to have competent teachers, each community could no longer be left to set its own standards. With normal schools improving and communication facilities expanding, educators began to devise schemes to standardize—at least within States—requirements for securing a teaching certificate. After the Civil War, authority to issue certificates began to move from local and county officials to the States. A teacher applying for a license was required to take a written examination prepared by State authorities. As long as local and county superintendents were responsible for grading the papers, however, they still controlled certification for all practical purposes.

Teachers needed only a tenth-grade education to be eligible for the tests—even into the 20th century. (Indiana in 1907 became the first State to require a high school diploma as a condition for all teaching certificates.) If they passed the written exam, they had a blanket certificate good for any subject at any grade level. Gradually, the idea of special certificates for special teaching assignments caught on, as did the notion that graduation from high school and, later, college would be a sounder basis for evaluation than a single test.

The typical teacher of 1911, according to the first study made of the characteristics of schoolteachers, was 24 years old, female, had entered teaching at 19, and had four years of training beyond the elementary school. Her parents were native born, her father was most likely a farmer or tradesman, and she had to earn her own way.

Fifteen years later, a similar survey showed little change. The teacher of the mid-Twenties came from a rural area or small town. She had never traveled more than a couple of hundred miles from her home, and had had little exposure to art or music. Light literature—popular magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal*—was her preference, and she scanned the newspaper daily. Attempts to elevate teacher preparation standards had meanwhile been launched, but then came the dis-



locations of World War I. In 1918, according to records of The National Education Association, half of the 600,000 teachers then in the classroom lacked special training and about one-sixth were without even a tenth-grade education. As late as 1926, 15 States still had no definite scholarship requirements for a certificate.

Teachers continued to be bound by petty restrictions that had little to do with their teaching. Before and immediately after the war, the management of their private lives extended even to being told to what charities they were obliged to contribute. Tenure was insecure, without provision for sickness or old age. And to take a stand on a public issue was to commit professional suicide. Personal freedoms were similarly limited. Well into the 20th century, the common habit of tobacco chewing was adequate cause for denial of certificates to male teachers. A teacher who was for some reason invited to a party was not supposed to dance, and failure to attend church services regularly was taken as sure proof of moral decay. As late as the 1930s, one teacher complained: "I cannot be funny or act like a human being. I must possess all the dignity and peculiarities of an old maid."

Employment of teachers in their home towns was prohibited in Alabama, and a North Carolina county outlawed "quarreling among teachers." Between 1920 and 1930, school authorities in several communities refused to appoint teachers who bobbed their hair, painted their lips, or rouged their cheeks. Such restrictions often were embodied in State codes or written into contracts. A Virginia county school system rule still on the books in 1935 read, "Any conduct such as staying out late at night, etc., which may cause criticism of the teacher will not be tolerated by the school board."

As individuals, teachers were often praised, venerated, and even loved by the communities they served. As a class, they were stereotyped—congenital old maids of both sexes, too incompetent to compete in the world of work, too frustrated to take their place in normal society, somewhat odd in appearance and dress, lacking in social graces. "You can tell a teacher as far as you can see one," went one of the clichés. Or, "He who can, does; he who can't, teaches."

As with Americans generally, the arrival of the 20th century was accompanied by considerable gear-shifting with regard to teachers—in their status, in the way in which they were viewed, and in the way they viewed themselves. Both cause and effect were involved in a surge of activity—chiefly conducted through local and State professional organizations at first, then rising to the national level—aimed at achieving better salaries, tenure, higher certification standards, a larger role in setting school policies, and greater personal freedom. In the beginning these moves brought few gains, but as a consequence of them the pattern was set. Teachers were determined to win a place in the sun.

Their efforts have not been universally welcomed or endorsed, particularly when their new-born militancy was translated into boycotts and strikes. Even then, however, the criticism has primarily been directed toward the organizations involved rather than teachers as such. Moreover, to the extent that their demands have been aimed at providing more competent instruction and more effective learning, teachers struck a responsive chord. Meanwhile teachers were becoming not simply more militant but better educated, more competent, more involved. And as it turned out, more highly respected.

Consider, for example, some results from a series of Gallup polls conducted for Phi Delta Kappa, the education fraternity. When asked if they would like their children to become teachers, three out of four parents said yes, they would, and when the sample was narrowed down to parents with children still in school, the ratio climbed to four out of five.

As for the teachers themselves, though they have changed considerably over the years, there is this constant: Like the Colonial schoolmaster, he or she is an individual, "neither a type nor a personality, but a statistical distribution represented by a skewed curve." Only today the curve is even less symmetrical. It includes blacks in cities and suburbs, people with Spanish surnames, Native Americans on and off reservations. As it includes people trained in traditional institutions who earned their credentials by taking traditional courses, so does it encompass people who have been certificated because they acquired and demonstrated specific competencies. It includes people who completed college in four years and went straight into teaching, and it includes people who have climbed a career ladder through multiple levels. It includes people who teach in a conventional manner in self-contained classrooms as well as individuals who work in "open" or "free" schools where youngsters are responsible for much of their own learning.

From a compilation of statistics about teachers by the National Education Association comes this odd assortment of facts: The median age of teachers is 35 years. A little over eight percent of all teachers are black. About 50 percent of all teachers come from blue-collar working class or farm backgrounds, but the percentage of teachers with fathers in one of the professions is increasing. There are more male teachers today than there were five or ten years ago, especially on the elementary school level. Seven teachers in ten are married. The percentage of men teachers with working wives has increased. Ninety-seven percent of all teachers hold at least a Bachelor's degree. The best prepared teachers tend to work in large school systems.

Finally, a statistic that serves as a kind of intangible monument to the teaching professionals who recognize the unending series of challenges they are called upon to meet and who have the will and the courage to meet them: Nine of every ten teachers plan to go on teaching.

—MYRTLE BONN
Office of Education Program Specialist

THE NATION'S SECOND SCHOOL SYSTEM

BY NEIL G. McCLUSKEY

Though the vast majority of American youngsters today receive their formal education in public schools, the nonpublic school has always been an integral part of our educational system and can justly claim to have provided a special quality of enrichment to our national life.

In a very real sense, in fact, the American public school can be considered a child of the "nonpublic" schools started by Protestant churches and communities. At the time of the Nation's beginnings, education was a private and religious undertaking that in time became seen as serving broad, nonecclesiastical purposes. Indeed among the Massachusetts colonists, who were the first group in early America to act on the principle that education was a public concern, there was no clear dividing line between religious and secular authority so far as the schools were concerned. Nevertheless, before the advent of the 19th century, education beyond the rudiments was seen as an upper-class prerogative, a privilege to which few peasant or working-class families aspired, and essentially serving the purposes of religious groups.

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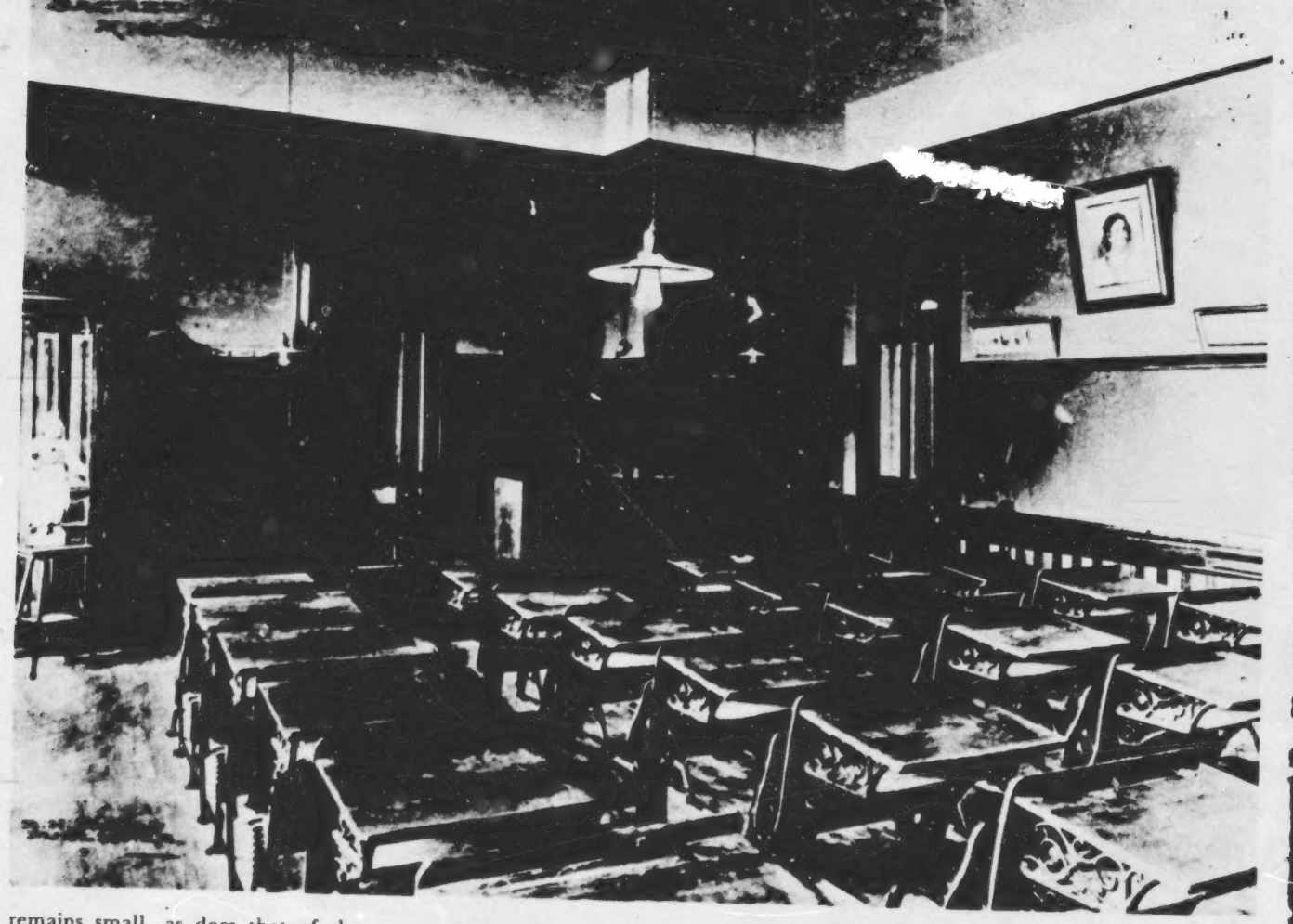
As America came to an increasing acceptance of "popular" education and then to enthusiastic support of the public school movement—perceiving education not simply as desirable for a few but as necessary for sharing in the life of a vigorous republic—the religious character of American schools gave way to the secular.

Nonetheless, nonpublic schools remain today as a large and significant element of the overall system of education. Currently nearly one of every ten elementary and secondary school youngsters in the Nation attends a nonpublic school—a total of approximately five million. About three-fourths of these young people are enrolled in Catholic schools, with the remainder attending either private schools or schools sponsored by other religious groups. Today only a few such groups, other than the Catholic church, conduct schools or school systems on any significant scale, the most heavily represented being the schools maintained under Lutheran, Episcopalian, and Adventist sponsorship and those operated under Jewish auspices.

With few exceptions the older private schools also began under church sponsorship, though the majority today either retain only a loose religious affiliation or have become completely secular. As prep schools for the prestige colleges and universities, the private secondary schools have traditionally exercised an influence far beyond their number, but their number nevertheless



remains small, as does that of the new "private" schools opened in some States in opposition to laws requiring desegregation.

As regards both the numbers of students involved and the great national issues that have risen, then, the story of the nonpublic school movement in the United States is largely the story of the parish schools operated by the Catholic church. That story had its beginnings in a fundamental American challenge to the basic principles that were ultimately to be fought for in the War of the Revolution. During the century and a half of the Colonial period, the Roman Catholic Church lived in the shadows. Catholics were suspected and feared, and as a group spent their lives outside the cultural and political activities of the community. Though many of the more onerous restrictions and penalties were lifted at the start of the national period, only four States in their constitutional conventions gave Catholics political equality with Protestants.

The rigid laws in existence at the time of the Revolution—modeled on those of the mother country—curtailed the freedom of Catholics to worship, to participate in civic life, and to educate their children. The school situation was particularly intolerable. The schools were belligerently Protestant, and texts were shot through with derogatory references to things Catholic. A graphic case in point was the universally used *New English Tutor*—a forerunner of the *New England Primer*—and its stern injunction to young readers: "Child, behold the Man of Sin, the *Pope*, worthy of thy utmost hatred!" Accordingly, the Catholic family faced a dilemma: whether to place its children in a religiously hostile environment, or to deprive them of the preparation needed for social and economic advancement.

The small Catholic community—by 1850 only 1.6 million in number—vigorously struggled to better the situation. They asked that offensive passages be deleted from the common textbooks. They asked that Catholic children be excused from the daily prescribed Protestant prayers and the reading of the King James version of the Bible. They asked that a portion of the school tax money be returned to help support separate Catholic schools.

By stages the textbook situation did improve and the more offensive references disappeared. The Bible, however, was regarded by most Americans as the moral Gibraltar of the Republic, and there was widespread conviction that unless the Bible was enshrined in the schools, God's wrath would fall upon the Nation. And the Bible meant the Protestant version. Strong legal support for the retention of daily obligatory reading from the Protestant Bible was supplied by an 1844 decision of the Maine Supreme Court, affirming the right of a school district to require the practice. Tension and strife beset many cities in the wake of incidents involving the caning or expulsion from school of Catholic pupils who refused to take part in what they believed to be a Protestant religious exercise. The unabashedly Protestant orientation of the public schools became the principal reason that led the Catholic community to establish separate schools and to work to obtain public support for them.

In the years that followed, the concept of popular education spread rapidly, and by 1880 public school enrollment had passed the one-million mark. Meanwhile, however, the Catholic dilemma remained acute, and Catholic leadership became

sharply divided over the school question. Many dioceses had drawn up statutes ordering pastors to establish parish schools and parents to send their children to them, and the move in this direction soon assumed nationwide dimensions.

Misgivings certainly must have remained in the minds of many leaders who questioned whether their people could support the burden of what actually amounted to a second public school system for Catholic children, or who felt that some kind of compromise with the State schools could have been entered into. Nevertheless, Catholic bishops meeting in Baltimore in 1884 formalized a commitment to the separate parochial school and the rejection of the public school for Catholic children. The argument of the bishops was simple: Education must foster religion in order to safeguard civilization; religious knowledge and formation can take place only in the school; the public schools either had no religion or a heretical one; therefore, separate Catholic schools. And so this gathering, known as the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, decreed that within two years every parish must have its own school.

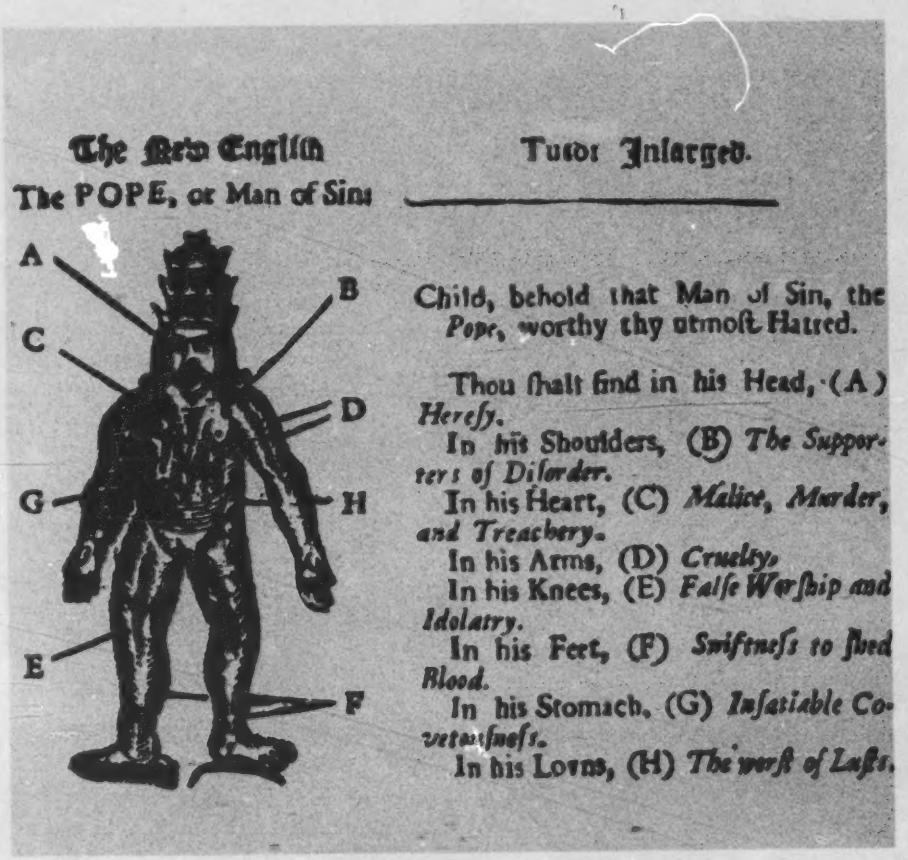
New York City was the scene of the first important struggle by Catholics to obtain a proportionate share of common-school funds, and the outcome there went a long way toward establishing a national policy that has endured to the present day. Between 1795 and 1825, the State of New York had given financial aid to every educational institution in the city, practically all of which were operated by the churches. In 1805 the Free School Society was founded "for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for by any religious society." Shortly thereafter it adopted another title, the "Public School Society," and as such became a dominant educational force in New York City. In 1825 a bill was passed by the State legislature authorizing the city council to determine which schools should receive tax money. The next year the council decided that henceforth the city's share of the State school fund should go exclusively to the nonsectarian Public School Society, except for minor grants to orphanages and mission schools.

Although the Protestant coloring of the public school had meanwhile been fading, under both Catholic and Protestant pressures, a new kind of objection had developed within the Catholic community. The public schools were irreligious, if not downright antireligious. New York's Archbishop John Hughes, never distinguished for his tact and embittered over his failure to win tax support for the parochial schools, was among the most hostile critics. His remark in 1852 that education as perpetrated in America was "Socialism, Red Republicanism, Universalism, Deism, Atheism, and Pantheism—anything, everything, but religionism and patriotism" was scarcely calculated to ease Prostestant-Catholic tensions. On the other hand, many local communities did try to come to terms with the school problem by means of various compromises. Generally, these were efforts to combine public and parochial schooling within a single institution so that religious instruction would precede or follow the regular classroom day. Although in many cases the local pastor had the right to select the teachers, they were salaried by the public school board. At one time or another, nearly every State had some such plan in operation, at least briefly, for the benefit not merely of Catholic children but for Presbyterian, Quaker, Lutheran, Mormon, and other children as well.

The situation was not without equivocation, but while the bishops who had pushed vigorously for parochial schools continued to do so, those who harbored doubts had difficulty resolving their position. It can be conjectured that most bishops, while in agreement with the ideal, were deeply disturbed by the immensity of the task. The pressure on their working class parishioners to multiply schools and to maintain them on a par with the free public schools called for more than faith. Nonetheless, by the end of the two-year interval, some 230 new schools had been built. Spurred by the Baltimore decision, enrollments in parish-maintained schools increased thereafter at about the rate of the growth of the Catholic population, rising from 490,500 in 1884 to 804,000 in 1900.

The last great effort at compromise came near the close of the century. In 1890 Archbishop John Ireland addressed a meeting of the National Education Association held in his See city of St. Paul, Minnesota. A distinguished and forceful orator, Ireland made a deep impression with his call for an approach which would provide religious instruction for Catholic children, while making parish schools a part of the public school system. This pattern was already operative in two towns within Ireland's jurisdiction, Stillwater and Faribault in Minnesota.

While warmly received by his audience, Archbishop Ireland's address ignited a bitter controversy among Catholic leaders without parallel in American Catholic history. Ireland had lavishly praised the public schools and urged as the solution to the Catholic problem "to make the state school satisfactory to Catholic consciences, and to use it." He argued that the necessity for parish schools was hypothetical—the necessity not arising directly from the Church's mission but "a provision in


The New English Tudor Inlarged.
The POPE, or Man of Sin
A
B
C
D
G
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E
F
Child, behold that Man of Sin, the Pope, worthy thy utmost Hatred.
Thou shalt find in his Head, (A) Heresy.
In his Shoulders, (B) The Supporters of Disorder.
In his Heart, (C) Malice, Murder, and Treachery.
In his Arms, (D) Cruelty.
In his Knees, (E) False Worship and Idolatry.
In his Feet, (F) Swiftness to shed Blood.
In his Stomach, (G) Insatiable Covetousness.
In his Loyns, (H) The worst of Lusts.

certain cases for the protection of the faith." Moreover, he stated, "The Church is not established to teach writing and ciphering, but to teach morals and faith, and she teaches writing and ciphering only when otherwise morals and faith could not be taught."

By the turn of the century there was still widespread sympathy and support for this position among the American Catholic leadership. Despite the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, many bishops hoped for some sort of compromise. Nor was this attitude dictated only by economics, granted that lack of money was almost always a critical factor.

Leaders like Ireland, John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, and Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore emphasized the value of common schools in assimilating immigrant children and opposed any approaches to parochial schooling that tended to preserve European customs and languages at the expense of American ways and the English language. They were also aware of the special affection most Americans felt toward the public school and the resentment non-Catholics would direct toward what they might interpret as an official Catholic attitude of hostility, criticism, and boycott. But compromise on the school question was not to be, and the more conservative and traditionalist wing soon carried the day.

In one way the school issue was simply an aspect of the larger church-state problem, and much of the struggle between "progressives" and "conservatives" over the school issue stemmed from sharply contrasting American and European attitudes toward society and its institutions. Such concepts as free enterprise, individual liberty, equal rights, and freedom of expression were the pride of the young New World republic. In the minds of many continental churchmen, however, the spirit behind these concepts could be associated with revolutionary-inspired attacks on the established order, in particular the Catholic Church. Rome was especially uneasy. Some of the public letters of the popes of that period to the American Church seemed to challenge the validity of ideas like the separation of church and state, the religious freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment, and the secular state school. The day of collaboration between Catholic and state schools abruptly ended and would remain that way until comparatively recent times.

Meanwhile the parochial schools had become a renewed object of hate beginning in the 1880s when forces of nativism again banned together to form the American Protective Association. This group was succeeded by one of the largest and most influential of the nativist movements, the Ku Klux Klan. Founded in Georgia in 1915, the Klan enlisted millions of members in a campaign against Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and the foreign-born. And a special target was the parochial school.

The parochial school from the beginning of its existence had of course

been no stranger to controversy, for the most part over the question of the use of public funds for its support, but in this instance the attack took a more virulent turn. Whatever misgivings people generally might have felt over the effects of church-maintained schools on public education, so long as Catholics or others themselves paid for them, they could be tolerated. After all, what did America stand for if not for religious liberty for all? The Ku Klux Klan, however, called on the States to have all but public schools outlawed. They actually succeeded in the State of Oregon when, in 1922, the voters narrowly approved by referendum a measure to that effect, an action that shocked and dismayed Americans throughout the Nation.

The press was almost unanimous in its criticism. Following a nine to nothing ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court striking down the Oregon law, *The New York Times*, in its lead editorial for June 2, 1925, commented: "Yesterday's decision by the Supreme Court holding invalid the Oregon School law is none-the-less welcome for being expected. The statute set aside was born of prejudice. . . .It was one of the most hateful by-products of the Ku Klux Klan movement, which now happily seems to be dying out." The Oregon school decision was a powerful reaffirmation of the paramount right of parents to choose a private or parochial school for their children in fulfillment of the compulsory school attendance laws, and in the 50 years since, has been cited regularly in judicial decisions involving parental liberties.

With this right firmly established and with the greater tolerance it helped to spawn, the Catholic school population steadily mounted. In 1964 it reached a historic peak of 5.6 million, or nearly 12 percent of the total elementary and secondary school population of the country.

Until very recent years parochial school attendance also was stimulated by a strong disciplinary motivation. Sending children to Catholic schools was required by church law (a law which became largely a dead-letter issue beginning with the Fifties, when parental demand far exceeded the available facilities). For the most part, the canons on education in the *Code of Canon Law*, promulgated in 1918, echoed the assumptions and principles—in places the actual wording—of the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

Historically, as has been seen, the bishops and clergy were at the forefront in the creation of the parochial schools and subsequently in their operation and staffing. There was little alternative and large precedent for this dominance. Even had there been ample funds to pay the salaries commanded by lay teachers, modest though they were, the tradition of clerical and religious involvement in education was as old as the monastic schools of the early Middle Ages. Thus for many years the parochial schools were staffed almost exclusively by nonsalaried teaching orders of religious men and women.

During the past two decades, however, the lay teacher has come more and more to replace the religious or clerical teacher, a move that started after World War II when the great expansion of parochial schools took place. It was heightened subsequently by the sharp decline in the numbers of men and women entering the religious state. The net result was that the percentage of lay teachers in the Nation's Catholic schools rose from ten percent in 1950 to 26 percent by 1960 and to more than 50 percent by 1970, the further result being a huge increase in the cost of Catholic education.

The scarcity of religious teachers (and its impact on costs) is the chief reason regularly advanced by Catholic school superintendents for closing a school or curtailing classes, but changing viewpoints

would appear to be involved also. Large numbers of Catholics today, for example, seem to have decided that Catholic youngsters who attend public school will not for that reason turn out to be something less than good Catholics.

The consequence of such factors as these has been a steady decline in Catholic school enrollments. Even though for a few years into the 1960s the number of children involved was still rising, 1959 saw the start of a marked decline in the proportion of Catholic children in Catholic schools, and that was soon matched in the gross figures themselves. Thus from an all-time peak of 5.6 million in 1964, enrollments fell to 5.2 million in 1967. During the six years thereafter, ending in 1973, they annually declined by percentages ranging from 4.6 to 7.5. Within a decade the fall-off has come to 35 percent, more than one-third.

For those who equate "success" with increasing quantitative growth, this fall-off may have been taken as a signal of the onset of disaster. Those arguing for a broader view of the Church and its mission, however, insisted that the decay theoretically inherent in the bald numbers was more apparent than real. Put into proper context, they said, these enrollment trends were simply further evidence that the parochial schools, like the Catholic church generally, were entering a new era, with new goals and priorities. Many Catholic educators pointed out, moreover, that the shrinkage was bringing specific benefits to the Catholic education system, both in the quality of instruction and in the refinement of its operation. Meanwhile it became increasingly clear that the shift in Catholic school enrollments would have significant repercussions, within the Catholic community and in the society at large.

The emptying of thousands of parochial school classrooms, for example, has inevitably exacerbated the financial plight of the public schools, so that a number of States have tried to find ways to help keep the Catholic schools open. Whether impelled by expediency or conviction, public support for nonpublic schools is not something new. Historically there has always been recognition that certain important public goals may be achieved through private, voluntary (including church-sponsored) agencies. In one way or another, not only the Federal Government but every State in the Union has provided some forms of assistance for children attending secularly qualified religious schools. Generally speaking, to be sure, this assistance has been peripheral in character: transportation, for example, health services, enriched dietary programs, special provision for the handicapped, textbooks, driver education.

In recent years, the Federal Government and several of the State legislatures have tried to move further. Especially through provisions of Titles I and II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, for example, Federal funds have brought additional benefits to many thousands of nonpublic school children, in particular those from disadvantaged families. Among the States, the most significant move came in a Pennsylvania law enacted in 1968 that served as a model for similar laws adopted by Ohio, Rhode Island, and Connecticut and considered by a number of other States.

Generally speaking this legislation was in the nature of a "purchase-of-services," an effort to provide limited salary assistance

for teachers in selected secular subjects. Though the concept of "purchase-of-services" had been historically upheld by the courts in *special* areas and for *special categories* of recipients, and though in earlier decisions the U.S. Supreme Court did accept the distinction between secular and religious values in education (approving bus transportation in 1947, textbooks in 1968, and tax exemptions in 1970), decisions by the Court in 1971 struck down all forms of direct aid. In June of 1973 the Court extended this principle to cover not only direct aid but indirect aid as well, including proposals to give tax credits and tuition vouchers to families with children in nonpublic schools. The stiffer posture of the Court has of course seriously affected Catholic efforts to maintain a separate school system.

The final factor explaining the changing position and role of the Nation's Catholic schools also arises from the impact of Vatican II and is evidenced in a new set of attitudes on the part of many Catholics. Those attitudes extend beyond the role of the parochial school in the Catholic scheme of things to new perceptions of the function of the parish itself. This is not to say that all American Catholics approve of or have themselves adopted these newer outlooks. There is no disagreement, however, that for good or ill, the future of the contemporary Catholic school is being influenced by them.

Time itself is an important element in the unfolding picture. The roughly one-quarter of the American Nation which in varying degrees describes itself as Catholic is markedly different from the immigrant generations of a century ago. Similarly, chiefly as a result of the reform energies released by the spirit of Vatican II, relationships within the church itself have undergone far-reaching changes. The tight institutional discipline so long a characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church no longer predominates, and for increasing numbers of Catholics is now practically a relic of the past. Similarly, attendance at Sunday mass, frequenting the sacraments, and support of the parish school no longer are considered essential for deciding who is or who is not a Catholic.

Be that as it may, however, most Catholics—whether "liberal" or "traditional"—continue to regard their schools as singular and unique. National scale research at the University of Notre Dame has established that Catholics generally perceive Catholic schools as being superior to public schools in terms of religious instruction and personal and social development, even though they may often see public schools as being superior in academic offerings, efficiency, practicality, and convenience.

The net result is that money, including the question of some measure of public support, will be a painfully obvious factor in determining what proportion of Catholic children will continue to be enrolled in separate Catholic schools. Interestingly enough, the proportion of Catholic youngsters that have been accommodated in separate schools has varied little in this century until very recent years. About one-half of the elementary-school-age group and about one-third of the secondary-school age group have always attended Catholic schools, which means conversely that the majority of American Catholic youngsters have always been in the public schools.

But what lies ahead? Research has become an important new ingredient in Catholic planning for the future. Sparked by a Carnegie-Notre Dame national study completed in 1966, some 57 dioceses and dozens of religious teaching orders have undertaken in-depth examinations of their own educational situations. Out of these various research enterprises have come several important findings that begin to sketch out the future of the Catholic schools. Four would appear to be of pivotal significance:

1. The schools which have withstood the winnowing process of the past ten years have generally been the schools that had on their own account initiated needed reforms. They have larger and better qualified staffs. Their teacher-pupil ratio has achieved or is approaching the accepted professional optimum—on the elementary level in Catholic schools today the ratio is one to 28; on the secondary level, one to 19. These advances plus new instructional methods and imaginative reorganization suggest the pattern by which the parochial schools can attract the necessary measure of local community support.

2. The contemporary Catholic school has largely shed its narrow confessional image as it has moved more and more into the mainstream of American education. There is new emphasis on civic concern, especially in taking responsibility for the schooling of minority-group children, including a heavy proportion of youngsters from non-Catholic families.

3. Increasing numbers of Catholic leaders are taking the position that there are other ways of discharging pastoral responsibility outside the parochial school setting. While such leaders do not necessarily challenge the view that the conventional parochial school remains the ideal way of forming Catholic youth, they do insist that the parochial school must first of all be a quality operation which will attract students on its own merits and not have pupils coming because they are ordered to by canon law.

4. Not only has the lay teacher gained equal footing in the staffing of the schools but lay people are rapidly becoming full partners in policy-making. The fastest growing movement in Catholic education is the development of parish and diocesan school boards. As a side effect, the increasingly lay image of the Catholic school may greatly broaden its appeal for whatever constitutionally valid forms of public assistance may be forthcoming in the years ahead.

Such findings and the continuing research behind them inspire in many observers the conviction that although Catholic schools may not again enroll the numbers of students of former years, they will continue to be an important element in American education. Their role is very likely to be different from what it was in the past—in response to the changing needs and priorities of the Catholic church and of the student clientele to be served—but it need not for that reason become a less significant role. Considerable readjustment will of course be necessary, and costs will remain a problem.

The same can be said of the other nonpublic schools, for they too have been subject to the financial and moral stresses that have beset their parochial counterparts. A recent sampling by Notre Dame researchers indicates that of the schools operated by other religious groups, "approximately two-thirds of the sects, accounting for about 85 percent of the non-Catholic school enrollment, are also dependent upon the services of 'low-salaried' teacher personnel." The story is thus the same—rising salaries followed by rising tuition costs leading to an inevitable decline in enrollment. Similarly pressed, though for other reasons, are the nonpublic schools without religious affiliation. Many have sought to remain solvent by going coeducational, expanding their enrollments, or raising their fees, and some have done all three.

Clearly the nonpublic schools, religious and secular alike, face a vexing situation. Though the cost squeeze is most visible in the case of the Catholic schools, since they form such a predominant proportion of the whole, it touches in one degree or another on all. The dilemma is thus national and pervasive, and it poses a basic question—the question of what value the American citizenry will place on the diversity of educational opportunity that the Catholic and other nonpublic schools have traditionally provided. Thus as the Nation prepares to enter its third century, it is once again called upon to deal with fundamental social and constitutional issues that will affect the education of future generations of American schoolchildren. □

Benefiting the Child

Declared U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black: "It is much too late to argue that legislation intended to facilitate the opportunity of children to get a secular education serves no public purpose."

The year was 1947, the case that of *Everson* v *Board of Education*, in which a taxpayer brought suit against a New Jersey school district challenging the constitutionality of a State law that permitted tax-supported transportation for children attending parochial schools similar to that afforded their public school counterparts. In delivering the Court's opinion, Justice Black specifically noted that "the State contributes no money" to the schools involved—the constitutional provisions of separation of church and State were not at issue. It was rather a question of whether the State could legally "help parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools." In deciding in the affirmative, the Court established a significant guidepost for the drafting almost two decades later of crucial provisions of the most far-reaching Federal education legislation ever enacted.

Move forward now to the 1960s and the repercussions of the postwar "baby boom." In the fall of 1964 enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools reached 41.4 million and those in nonpublic schools climbed to more than six million. The combined total represented an increase of no less than 14.2 million students in just ten years, a jump that inevitably brought on many complications. The schools found themselves confronted by enormously increased costs: for additional staff, for administration, and to keep the plant operating—$18.9 billion in 1964-65 as contrasted with $8.9 billion a decade earlier. In addition there was the expense of constructing some 694,000 new classrooms, on top of which projections indicated that 344,000 more would be needed within the next five years to accommodate additional students and to replace buildings that were becoming too decrepit to use. Of the $31.2 billion in capital outlay for public elementary and secondary education during the 1954-64 decade, $20.4 billion was attributable to increased enrollment.

The nonpublic schools—and particularly those operated by the Catholic church—were if anything in even worse straits. They too were subjected to greatly increased operating and administrative costs, but perhaps the greatest jump came in costs of instruction as more "lay" teachers replaced the unsalaried teachers traditionally supplied by the religious orders. Within the church, questions were raised as to whether parish schools could survive without some form of Government assistance. In the absence of such aid, the leaders of several religious denominations argued, the public schools might find their already severe enrollment crunch lifted to calamitous proportions if they were required to take over the education of some six million youngsters attending church-supported nonpublic schools.

There was another equally crucial issue breeding ferment in the education world—the growing criticism that the schooling of too many youngsters, especially those from economically depressed backgrounds, was defective in quantity and quality. Some eight million adults were revealed to have completed less than five years in the classroom, and lack of proper training appeared to be the chief reason for the 20 percent unemployment of those between the ages of 18 and 20. A study of the 3.7 million students in the 15 largest school systems in the Nation showed that one-third were lagging so far behind that they needed special help. As officials of the nonpublic schools pointed out, public education had no monopoly on this problem. The greatest concentrations of parochial school attendance also came from the large cities; these students also needed special (and more expensive) help.

Such were some of the forces that led the Congress and the Administration to seek ways of strengthening elementary and secondary education and to consider the state of the nonpublic schools as they did so. As early as 1961 Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, chairman of the Senate's Subcommittee on Education, had asked the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to prepare legal briefs discussing the various issues involved, including one on "The Impact of the First Amendment to the Constitution Upon Federal Aid to Education." Both the proponents and the opponents of such aid took comfort in an early statement in the HEW response which noted that "it is easier to determine what the First Amendment forbids than what it allows." The proponents interpreted this language as suggesting the possibility of bold new legislation; whereas the opponents saw it as reaffirming constitutional limitations.

A second major statement in the brief said this: "The First Amendment does not require Government to be hostile to religion, nor does it permit governmental discrimination against religious activities. The objective is neutrality, however difficult it may be to be neutral or to determine what neutrality requires in relation to particular factual situations." Neither side was encouraged by these passages, since neither felt neutral about the matter.

And then came a statement that harks back to *Everson* v *Board of Education* and paved the way to an accommodation of the opposing sides. "Legislation which renders support to church schools," it read, "is unconstitutional in some circumstances. But laws designed to further the education and welfare of youth may not be unconstitutional if they afford only incidental benefits to church schools."

Though the issue of aid to nonpublic school children was just one of many concerns in the proposed Federal legislation to reinvigorate elementary and secondary education, none was more thoroughly debated. In time the discussion came to concentrate on the idea advanced in that portion of the brief which spoke of "laws designed to further the education and welfare of youth." Given the pressures of increasing enrollments, mounting school costs, the significant portion of the load carried by the private schools, and the necessity of improving the education of disadvantaged children wherever they

might be, this is the concept that ultimately was embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, most notably in Titles I and II but in other titles as well.

As with *Everson,* these provisions did not suggest opening the door of direct aid to church-related schools. Rather the act concentrated on providing – with day-to-day application of the law placed in the hands of the States and local public school agencies – aid particularly aimed at helping disadvantaged children but also seeking to provide greater educational opportunities to youngsters generally, irrespective of the kind of school system involved. The principle was the "child-benefit theory," by which the target was the child (and by implication the overall welfare of the Nation) rather than the school he or she attended.

Thus, under the direction of the public schools, compensatory education was made available to disadvantaged children in nonpublic schools under Title I, and school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials by means of a lending provision of Title II, along with additional benefits made elsewhere in the act.

Over the years since the Elementary and Secondary Education Act began operations in 1966 hundreds of thousands of nonpublic school youngsters have benefited from federally supported programs and services previously not offered to them. Even so, not all the nonpublic school children eligible for this assistance have received it, sometimes because of conflicting State laws, perhaps sometimes because of misunderstanding or neglect. Moreover, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has by no means quelled the controversy over the issue of expending public funds for the support of private and, more particularly, church-sponsored schools. It does not in fact address that issue. What it has done, through the "child-benefit theory," is to provide a practical arrangement by which the public and nonpublic schools can work together in serving the overall national interest.

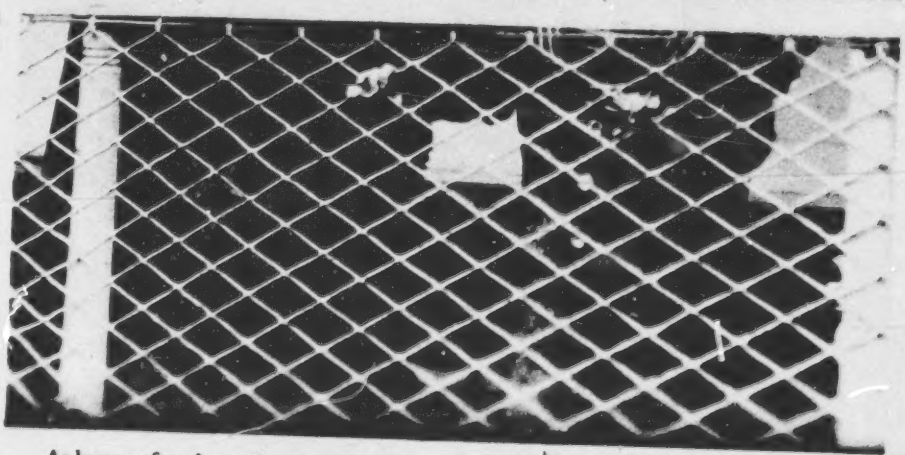
—WILMA A. BAILEY
OE's Office of Public Affairs Staff

Tending the "Melting Pot"

Almost from the beginning the shiploads of people coming to the New World had included a number of men and women who, in contrast to the colonists, had decided to sever their allegiance to their native lands and take on a new nationality. And almost from the beginning also, the welcome afforded those who were of other than British stock was often a good deal less than hearty. Even so stalwart a libertarian as Benjamin Franklin was not above grumbling about what he regarded as the excessive number of expatriate Germans who were making their way to Pennsylvania, complaining among other things that their strange tongue boded ill for the future of the English language in America.

During the years immediately following the Revolution the stream of these kinds of immigrants coming to the United States from Europe exceeded 5,000 annually, but the flow did not begin to pick up real force until about 1850. Then, after a pause imposed by the Civil War, it gathered increasing momentum, cresting in the decades just after the turn of the century. In 1900, of the Nation's total population of 76 million, more than a third were of foreign birth or parentage, and even so the peak was not at hand. That came in 1907, when the number of European-born immigrants arriving in the United States during that year alone reached nearly 1.3 million, and for the overall period between 1900 and 1920, the figure exceeded 14.5 million. Before World War I and subsequent restrictive laws curtailed the flow, the millions of men and women flocking to America from Europe represented what has been described as the greatest mass movement of people the world has ever known.

They also represented an enormous challenge, for as their number swelled, so did the problem of assimilating them. The search for a solution centered chiefly around the concept of the "melting pot." Essentially the idea was that these millions of disparate individuals, with their disparate tongues and folkways, would in some fashion – principally, presumably, by sheer exposure to the New World environment – become "Americanized."



As has so often been the case when the Nation has been confronted by a situation no one knows quite how to tackle, the job of tending the crucible was chiefly turned over to education. In a way that seemed to make sense, for the most obvious defect of the newcomers was their inability to speak English – an inability shared, according to a Government survey made in 1909 of schools in the largest cities, by more than half the students in any given classroom. But there were numerous other complica-

tions as well, among them a growing hostility toward these strangers with their foreign ways and empty pocketbooks. The immigrants characteristically were so desperately poor and lived in such primitive conditions that they were condemned as a blight on society. Moreover – particularly starting in the 1880s, when the chief areas of emigration began to shift from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern – sizable numbers of those in the lines at Ellis Island were Catholics and Jews and thus were automatically seen by some American traditionalists as debased and probably subversive.

Adding to these barriers to assimilation was the fact that the United States had changed from a rural society to an industrial one; the frontiers and farmlands largely opened up by Scotch, English, German, and Scandinavian immigrants were no longer available. So the "new" newcomers – the Italians and Poles and Czechs and Portuguese and Russians, and throughout both periods the Irish – sought jobs in mining or factory towns, or more commonly, they jammed into the cities, forming ethnic enclaves in slums where, according to a study made of a section of New York City in 1894, the density of population reached the incredible level of 986 persons per acre.

In short, though there was cause for concern over the inability of so many of these people to speak English, and over the high incidence of illiteracy among them, the overall problem obviously went far beyond a lack of learning. Nonetheless, the

Nation's love affair with education being well under way, the schools were assigned the leadership role in the "Americanization" drive.

The campaign got off to a faltering start, for the majority of individuals that were supposed to be transformed were not of school age. They were adults, either holding down jobs or looking for them, unable to attend school during the day and in any case shy of being in classrooms with children. Others were in locations beyond the range of schools, working as laborers in mining and logging camps and on railroad construction gangs. As for those in the cities, the greatest influx of immigrants always occurred during the summer months, when the schools were closed.

Out of these situations came a number of interesting innovations, some of which left a permanent imprint on the conduct of education. Classes jointly sponsored by local school systems and various individual companies were set up in factories and mills. There were "camp" schools, by which instruction was taken to men working in places not accessible to regular schools. Many school systems inaugurated summer sessions, and perhaps most interesting of all was the establishment of night schools, then virtually unknown except in Massachusetts. That State, curiously enough, had in 1870 adopted a law requiring towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants to offer evening classes in mechanical drawing (in support of its emerging woolen, cotton, and shoe manufacturing industries). This law was subsequently broadened to encompass other subjects—particularly, as the number of immigrants began to reach tidal proportions, English and grammar. Other States soon followed suit, some by revising provisions of their constitutions which by failing to foresee the possibility of evening classes in effect prohibited them. Thus did the night school ultimately become a standard feature of American education.

Meanwhile outside the established educational systems a variety of "Americanization" schools were started by religious, philanthropic, patriotic, fraternal, political, and other private groups. Some of these ventures were at best dubious—those operated by political factions, for example, not really for educational purposes but to sew up captive votes. Most nevertheless served a valuable and often heart-rending purpose, especially those in the slums that brought at least a brush with schooling to the hordes of street urchins who swarmed through the city, hawking newspapers or stealing or begging, war orphans of a bitter battle for survival. With the adoption of compulsory school attendance and child labor laws, the localized ventures in education began to fade away, with virtually every youngster being enrolled either in public schools or in counterpart systems operated under Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish auspices.

Posing for a "class photograph" was an unusual experience for slum boys in the early 1900s. Flotsam of the waves of immigration, they mostly roamed the streets. Whatever education they received was bargained for at mission schools operated by various philanthropic groups, where they could get a meal for enduring a lesson in reading. The members of this particular "class" were recorded on the rolls as (front row, seated) Indian Jackie Candles, Black Stove Pipe, Sniderdick, Old Man, Billy Buccannon, Greenhorn, Madden the Butcher, (and standing) Red Eye, Darby the Cobbler, Snikes, Butcher Kilroy, Billy Bucktooth, and Rag-breeches Cadet. The two men behind them were the mission school's superintendents.

So far as the schools were concerned, at least, the assimilation process was going forward in reasonably good shape. Hostility and controversy nevertheless persisted, and education became caught up in the furor. Many nativist citizens, some elements of the press, and such groups as the American (Know Nothing) Party and the Ku Klux Klan saw people of foreign birth or parentage as inherently posing a threat to American traditions and standards—especially when instead of enrolling their children in the public schools they sent them to schools operated by the Catholic Church, where they grew up, as one critic put it, "thoroughly foreign and under priestly control." In response there was a widespread movement to enact State laws requiring all children to attend public schools. In one State, Oregon, the effort ultimately was successful, though the law was soon overturned—in 1925—by the United States Supreme Court.

With the passage of time and with the reduction of immigration from its previous massive scale—the consequence of Federal legislation adopted beginning in the 1920s—the cry for "Americanization" began to soften. So did enthusiasm for the idea of the "melting pot," which in practice proved more attractive as a figure of speech than as a practical way of dealing with people.

The feeling began to grow that perhaps it wasn't really necessary for everyone to be melted down and cast in the same mold. The United States was increasingly seen as a new kind of Nation in which cohesion among the citizenry was based not on historical geographical boundaries or a common race and religion, but on devotion to common purposes and ideals. In such a Nation it was possible for people to be diverse and still unified, the objective being not just assimilation but accommodation—perhaps the word is tolerance—as well.

—L.V. GOODMAN
Editor, *American Education*

AN EMPHASIS ON CHANGE

BY JOHN I. GOODLAD

It often is said about education, as about many other things, that nothing changes but the appearance of change. It might also be said, however, that one's view of change depends to a considerable degree on the perspective of time. Looking in the 1970s for widespread, authentic implementation of the innovative ideas contained in the cant and rhetoric of reform in the 1960s suggests little movement. Only a small part of each successive wave of recommended change rubs off onto practice. Perhaps this is not all bad, since it protects us from the excesses of those who make reputations by being more daring than their contemporaries. But some features which cause schools to seem inevitably and forever the same hang on stubbornly—telling and questioning as the main form of teaching, daily instruction chopped into arbitrary slices of time, long spells of student immobility, textbooks and copy books, to name only a few. Nonetheless, in the sweep of 200 years since Independence, much of the tone and reality of American education is conveyed accurately by the word "change" in aims, in substance, in access to schooling, and in where and how education occurs.

The saga is a captivating one, particularly the last 150 years of it, during which schooling has advanced from the privilege of a few to a widely accepted right of all. The whole of it often is described as "the great American experiment in mass education." Only a few rather visible threads of change are discussed here, beginning with goals and concluding with the march toward equality of opportunity and a learning society. The central focus is on schools, since we have attached so much importance to them, but there is some attention to education conceived more broadly.

Today, two central thrusts characterize most widely accepted statements of goals for education in this country: the full development of the individual and identification with an ever-widening concept of social and cultural responsibility. A statement emanating from the 1970 White House Conference on Children and cast within a framework of "the right to learn" juxtaposes these two thrusts in seeking to answer the question, What would we have 21st century man be?

"We would have him be a man with a strong sense of himself and his own humanness, with awareness of his thoughts and feelings, with the capacity to feel and express love and joy and to recognize tragedy and feel grief. We would have him be a man who, with a strong and realistic sense of his own worth, is able to relate openly with others, to cooperate effectively with them toward common ends, and to view mankind as one while respecting diversity and difference. We would want him to be a being who, even while very young, somehow senses that he has it within himself to become more than he now is, that he has the capacity for lifelong spiritual and intellectual growth. We would want him to cherish that vision of the man he is capable of becoming and to cherish the development of the same potentiality in others."

Early goals for education were spare and stark in comparison with such a sweeping, almost ethereal statement. Going back to Colonial days in Massachusetts we find little concern for individuality and much for responsibility in the admonition to town leaders that they take account of children's "ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." Although there was, a century later, some expression of concern for practical preparation for jobs in agriculture, navigation, shipbuilding, surveying, and trading, the commitment to moral instruction and love of country remained central. With the passage of another hundred years (bringing us well past Independence and into the middle of the 19th century), the emphasis still was on responsibility—a degree of education that would enable one to perform all social, domestic, civic, and moral duties.

Paralleling humanistic stirrings in Europe, there were, of course, expressions of concern over this pervading sense of education only for responsibility, and they resulted in a few innovative deviations during the second half of the 19th century. But it is this continued domination of the moral and nationalistic over a period of 250 years that makes John Dewey's emphasis on the meaning of individual human experience so dramatic. Historian Lawrence Cremin interprets Dewey's definition of education—the reconstruction or reorganization of experience—as "a way of saying that the aim of educa-

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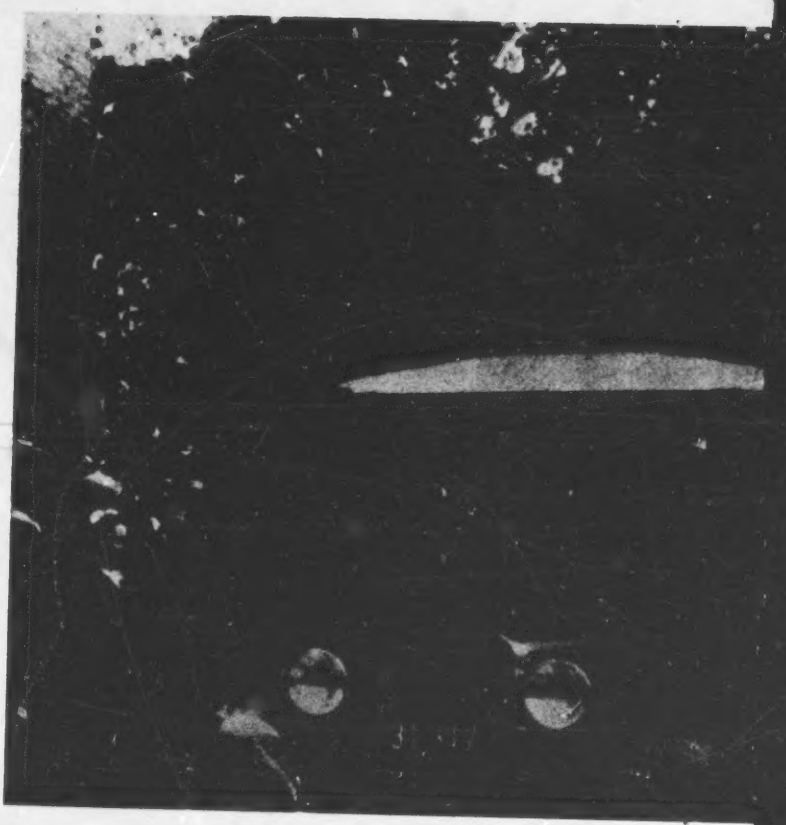
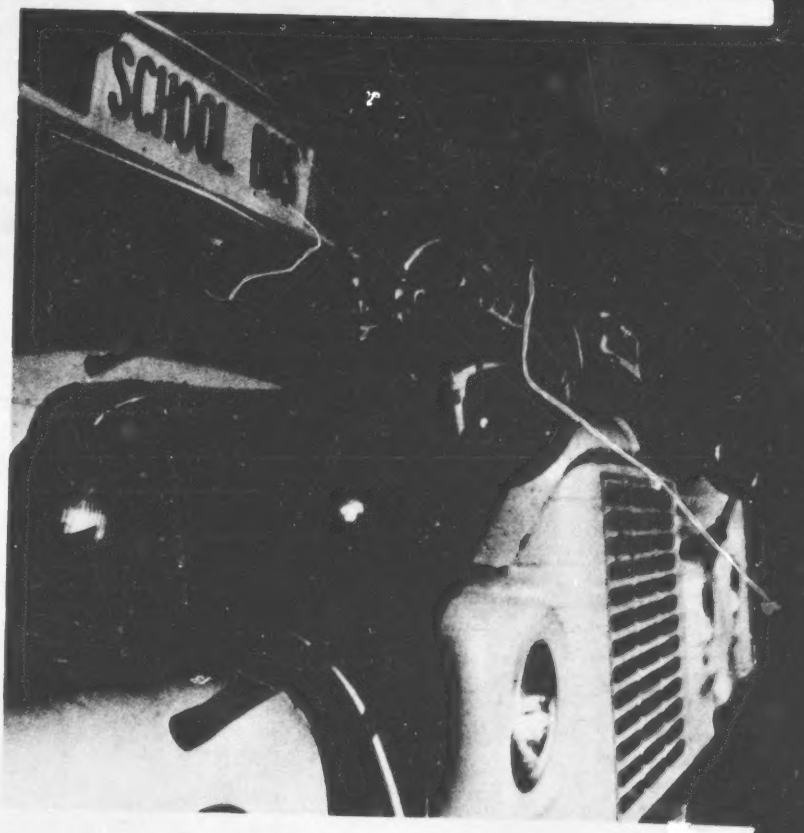




The business of getting to and from school has clearly changed, and not just in form. In the 1830s boys and girls in New York made do with shanks' mare. Around the turn of the century they could get a one-horsepower lift. In the early 1930s students in Baltimore were introduced to a newfangled vehicle called a bus. Busing is no novelty today—and no stranger to controversy.

tion is not merely to make citizens, or workers, or fathers, or mothers, but ultimately to make human beings who will live life to the fullest."

There was no immediate and general acceptance of that concept. In fact, this and related ideas of Dewey were attacked for decades afterward and remain controversial today. Nonetheless, since publication of his pivotal *Democracy and Education* in 1916, not a single, major statement of goals for American education has omitted reference to individual prerogatives: worthy use of leisure, for example, (Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, 1918); self-realization (Educational Policies Commission, 1938); knowledge of self (Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, 1973).

The drive for redefinition of goals is not over; it never will be. Indeed, the cycles of emphasis and excess seem to come and go more quickly. Just 25 years ago both Progressive Education and the association carrying its name were in disarray. The "tender" in education—that having to do with great respect for the personality of individual children—was out; the "tough"—great respect for the facts and structures of disciplined knowledge—was in the ascendency. A dozen years later, however, John Dewey was being rediscovered in "open education," admittedly sometimes in ways to make purists shudder. Today, with the struggle and sacrifices of 1776 very much before us, what we can do for our country overshadows what our country can do for us; and "under God" is heard more often than in quite some time. "A degree of education to enable one to perform all social, domestic, civic, and moral duties" sounds not at all anachronous to many and "right on" to more than a few. Continuing trends indicate, though, that "learning to be" could very well become the sub-title for an analysis of 20th century aims of American education prepared by historians in the 21st.

Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out that Americans "are at bottom moral optimists." A sense of sin arises out of our self-recognized inability to live up to the precepts of our idealism. Cultural unity, says Myrdal in *An American Dilemma*, arises out of "this common sharing in both the consciousness of sins and the devotion to high ideals."

Perhaps it is the tension thus created that provides the drive for our educational preoccupation with curricular reform. We probably have more curriculum specialists and more curriculum activity than all of the other nations of the world put together. We even have – or think we have – curriculum theory, an anathema to many in older, less self-conscious countries where curriculum construction is seen as a kind of trial-and-error process of human engineering wherein some options are chosen over others. Terms in the vocabulary of curriculum workers such as "scope," "sequence," "continuity," and, above all, "behavioral objectives" were initially American creations and exports and not always well received abroad.

But this has been the case only recently.

Courses on curriculum construction have been common in our universities for only a few decades, books on the subject for only a few more. Perhaps, then, exponents of "sound principles of curriculum planning" should not be too upset when publishers and teachers pay little attention to them. Until recently, publishers of educational materials concerned themselves almost exclusively with textbooks and with whether the content was acceptable and reasonably within pupil understanding. Ramifications pertaining to children's interests, appropriate recognition of sexes and races, objectives to be achieved, readability, and the like followed some years – and usually decades – after the appearance of goals stressing the individual in education and self-realization. And the addition of social and psychological considerations to subject matter vastly complicated the curriculum-building process.

Knowledge of goals is about all one needs in order to guess the content of early school programs in this country. In the second half of the 17th century, the school day was occupied with reading, spelling, and instruction in the Bible. The hornbook, a board with a handle, was inscribed with the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer. The first New England Primer (1690) contained epigrams, prayers, questions and answers about the Bible and spelling lessons. Tid-bits are frequently reproduced and include the well-known:

In Adam's Fall
We Sinned all

An Eagle's flight
Is out of sight

The idle Fool
Is whipt at School.

Equally well-known is the "Praises to GOD for learning to Read":

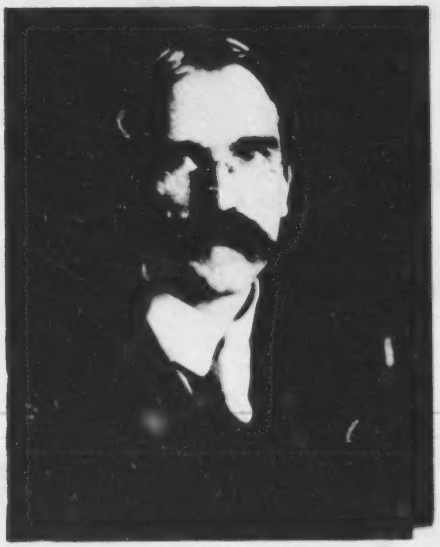
The Praises of my Tongue
I offer to the Lord
That I was taught and learnt so young
To read His holy Word:

That I was brought to know
The Danger I was in,
By Nature and by Practice too
A Wretched slave to Sin:

That I was led to see
I can do nothing well;
And whither shall a Sinner flee
To save himself from Hell.

Reading this today, how can one feel comfortable with the proposition that schools do not change!

By the time of Independence, the curriculum was more crowded and planning was becoming complex. Provisions for vocational skills and more complicated arithmetic teaching had to be fitted in. And with separation and initial unification effected, the content of citizen-



JOHN DEWEY (1859-1952)

ship education and the teaching of national loyalty changed dramatically. The schools were having to change with the times, just as they have been exhorted and constrained to respond ever since.

With industrialization, urbanization, and rapid expansion in population during the second half of the 19th century, the schools shook themselves out of 17th- and 18th-century molds and created new structures which held with surprising firmness until past the middle of the 20th. It is reasonable to suggest that it is those highly visible characteristics of egg-crate buildings, graded classes, compartmentalized subjects, and rigid time units brought into being in the 1860s and 1870s that have provoked the image of tortoise-like change in schools. But these things, too, shall pass – and are, indeed, passing, like the Dame School, the circuit school, and the Lancaster Plan before them.

But within these familiar rubrics, curriculum change (much but not all in the form of accretions to what already existed) went on apace. Vocational training in both skills and attitudes was needed for work in the factories; physical and health education made their common appearance early in the 1900s. The elementary school curriculum of the 1920s and 1930s included arithmetic, spelling, reading, handwriting, grammar, composition, nature study, geography, history, singing, drawing, painting, and perhaps some shop and cooking for the upper years. Secondary schools commonly included algebra, geometry, some arithmetic; English composition, grammar, and literature; Latin, French, and sometimes a little German; civics, history, geography; health and physical education; physics, chemistry, and biology; and a clutch of electives in the arts, technical subjects, and home

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economics, depending on local resources.

Methods of teaching reading became (and continued to be) a controversial matter with the introduction of whole-word recognition approaches and "controlled vocabularies" in the late 1920s. Progressive education is blamed or credited, depending on one's point of view, with a rash of experiments with fused, integrated, or core curriculums; society- or community-oriented approaches; life adjustment education; and child-centered education all blossoming in the 1930s and fading in the war-torn years of the 1940s. By the 1950s, there were many who believed the time was come to have done with our progressive follies and, in the light of the United States' new-found status in the world, to tighten and prune, to cut the fat out of curricular accumulations, and to replace outworn content with the fast-ripening fruits of a knowledge explosion. It was time for and, indeed, the social and civic responsibility of academicians to bestir themselves from their more scholarly activities in order to jack up the ailing curriculums of America's schools.

Emphasis on structure of the disciplines, supposedly both disciplining and freeing the mind simultaneously, though highly visible was not the only emphasis in the ensuing reform movement. Assumptions about the nature of learners loomed large; psychological considerations had been part of the fabric of curriculum and instruction for some time. Even very young children were credited with ability to learn basic mathematical and scientific concepts, to extrapolate from data and experiments, and to make intuitive leaps. The young child was "discovered educationally," the significance of cognitive development taking its place beside traditional concerns for emotional, social, and physical development for nursery school youngsters — at least in the view of a handful of influential leaders.

Although these emphases were brewing in the 1950s, they came to a boil in the 1960s, spewing out all over the stove in 1965. Sputnik had touched that nerve of sin again. We flayed our schools as we once flayed witches. Our schools had gone soft, we said — and a few obligingly enterprising television cameramen soon "proved" it. We were not quite ready to say that we, the American people, had gone soft, however.

The period from 1957 to 1967, "The Education Decade," began with great confidence that the apparent ills of our educational enterprise could be cured, especially if the job were turned over to the right people (and, by and large, these were not the administrators and supervisors in the school districts, the education associations — especially not the National Education Association — or the professors of education, who together made up "the education establishment"). There was considerable confidence, also that this school-centered diagnosis was the correct one, that more general well-being would come with educational well-being.

The immediate aftermath of Sputnik is fascinating and deserves an analysis within the historical context of our Nation beyond what it has as yet received. We already had inordinate expectations for our schools, for more than one hundred years linking them virtually in a cause-and-effect relationship with individual well-being and national welfare — regarding them, as Robert M. Hutchins observed, as "the foundation of our freedom, the guarantee of our future, the cause of our prosperity and power, the bastion of our security, the bright and shining beacon that was the source of our enlightenment. . . ." How we sought to polish up the beacon and step up the candlepower after Sputnik!

A veritable host of many long-standing traits, movements, tenets, and ideologies of American education came tumbling together in The Education Decade. The innovative character, which some observers from abroad have identified as our most notable contribution to educational advancement generally, was dominant. We innovated all over the place: with new approaches to curriculum content; with programed and computerized instruction; with modular scheduling, modular buildings, and acoustically treated walls, ceilings, and floors; with nongrading, team teaching, and flexible grouping; with films, film strips, multimedia "packages," and televised instruction. It is not difficult to find the roots of organizational reforms in the St. Louis (1868) and Pueblo (1880) plans or, in this century, the Winnetka and Dalton plans; philosophical underpinnings of much curricular rhetoric in the teachings of Whitehead and Dewey; and psychological bases for new curriculums and programed instruction in the research of Thorndike and Pressey.

We updated our long-standing ambivalence about teachers and teaching as a profession by proposing "teacher-proof materials," while revering the newly emerging professorial jet-set. Members of this new elite were much sought after: as advisors and consultants to the Federal Government, publishers, school systems, special projects, and foundations, and as speakers everywhere. Research became so revered that "no teaching the first year and then only a seminar in your specialty" was as significant as the unprecedented salary going with a much-publicized appointment at a prestigious university.

Particularly fascinating is the side-by-side emergence of the "hard"/"tough" and "soft"/"tender" ideologies which, for at least half of the two centuries since Independence, seem so often to have occupied the same place and time and to relate to each other like gophers and gopher snakes. Usually, however, in the past — and especially in this century — one has tended to survive at the expense of the other, perceived excesses in the temporary dominance of tender education triggering the ascendance and accompanying perceived excesses in its tough counterpart. But the resurgence of the tough-minded had scarcely begun in The Education Decade before the neo-humanists were in full cry, condemning lock-step, irrelevance, and inhumaneness in schools as their tender-minded counterparts had done before them. Their historic foes were not intimidated. Today, the proponents of free schools (tender) and other drastic deviations from "the system" stand cheek-by-jowl with those who would tighten up the sloth in schools through more precise delineation of instructional objectives (tough).

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), which both brought the pot of reform to a boil and spilled out the brew across this Nation, ranks with those great Federal Acts of Faith which gave us our land-grant universities and assured that we would not forget the vocational arts (Smith-Hughes Act) in our pursuit of the liberal arts and sciences. Although the Constitution implicitly left responsibility for education to the States, the Federal Government has served strategically in diagnoses of nationwide need and reform transcending the States. From the beginning, the United States Office of Education and its Commissioner have been charged with periodic assessments and reports to Congress.

The ESEA represents not only a high — perhaps the zenith — in our history of faith in education and our ability to effect constructive change in schools, but also a significant watershed in the post-Sputnik frenzy. Ironically, it also symbolizes the dangers of disillusionment inherent in expecting too much of our schools. President Lyndon B. Johnson was both right and wrong in his statement before Congress to the effect that education is at the heart of all problems, if one looks deeply enough.

Our schools have served us well, in spite of their shortcomings, in the face of unreasonable expectations. But they simply cannot be expected to correct those

many acute problems associated with rapid growth, urbanization, and socialization which are, perhaps, more amenable to solution by human engineering: technological displacement of labor-intensive employment, urban decay, pollution, and the like. That education would solve them was the expectation of the 1960s, however—at least, so one might judge from the rhetoric of legislators, educators, and previously neglected groups in our society calling for recognition and equity. The expectation simply was not and could not be met. It should come as no great surprise that The Education Decade ended on a note of disillusionment.

It is overly simplistic to cite only unrealistic expectations as the cause of considerable, widespread criticism of schools at the beginning of the 1970s. The country was weary of war and the young bitter about it; our expanding economy appeared to be checked; an increasing imbalance of imports over exports was beginning to challenge the phrase, "as sound as a dollar"; our resources no longer seemed limitless; the alarm of conservationists over environmental rape was clanging more loudly; inflation and recession were twin devils; daily life was complex; our urban problems seemed as bad as before; ethnic minorities had come a long way but the road to further progress was not at all clear; women were men's burden of conscience; many things seemed not to go right. We had used and abused schools as the vehicle to improve or change all this and they had been found wanting. A Ford Foundation report was interpreted to say that the much-touted reforms had not worked; campus stress and tumult were near-dormant; shrinking enrollments suggested caution, not boldness; research grants were hard to get; the professorial jet-set had dwindled to a few, now older. With some communities confronting the unfamiliar problem of consolidating or closing elementary schools, there were those prognosticators who solemnly declared teaching to be dead as a profession! But it is unlikely that education or educators will roll over.

Among those aspects of life celebrated on the 200th Anniversary of the United States of America, schools loom large. While some hear only hollowness in the words of tribute, those who know our history best are appropriately stirred and are neither carried away nor turned off by the rhetoric. They know that our schools never have lived up to the most extravagant claims nor deserved the most scathing criticisms. Our institutions of learning have mirrored the strengths and weaknesses, successes and failures, of the surrounding society, overly praised when all seemed well in the land and overly cursed when little seemed to be going right. Perhaps this has been the greatest weakness of these institutions—that they have reflected our society too well and, consequently, not served adequately as constructively critical, countervailing agencies. But this, too, we have expected of them: that they be responsive but conservative, that they reflect ongoing life around them. In so doing, we have virtually assured a succession of cycles of relative satisfaction and dissatisfaction, each in a fascinating way conducive to successive cycles of change.

It probably is healthy, therefore, that the middle years of the 1970s find us between cycles, with neither the worst fears nor the most grandiose proposals of the past two decades realized. We did not deschool our society. Neither Pygmalion nor computers took over in the classroom. That new generation about which we were so excited goes no more to the polls and no less to prison (or *vice versa*) than its predecessors. Our schools are not nearly as good as the predictions of 1966 said they would be by now, nor as bad as many said they were in 1972. It appears that our schools are marked at least as much by stability as by change. Between cycles, then, we are at one of those stable periods when reflection might provide the needed perspective before we move again. What better time than on our 200th Anniversary?

The long look at yesterday, today, and tomorrow suggests that extending opportunity for education has been one of the most significant areas of change, and yet it remains the area of greatest need and challenge. It has two parts: access and appropriateness. The struggle for more general access, for fulfillment of the right to learn, has been carried on under the rubric of equality of opportunity. It has taken place previously in the political arena and in the courts. The drive for appropriateness has been more person-centered, drawing upon growing knowledge about individual differences and humanistic concern for the individual.

Looking back, with today's conceptions of what equality and individuality in opportunity and educational provision mean, it is easy to fault all levels of schooling for lethargy and backwardness. Thus though the following notions' guiding provisions for free public schooling throughout the second half of the 19th century and well into the 20th were *enlightened* for their time, they can easily be taken apart—as, indeed, they have been—as discriminatory by contemporary standards:

- ☐ Providing a *free* education up to a given level which constituted the principal entry point to the labor force.
- ☐ Providing a *common curriculum* for all children, regardless of background.
- ☐ Partly by design and partly because of low population density, providing that children from diverse backgrounds attend the *same school*.
- ☐ Providing equality within a given *locality*, since local taxes provided the source of support for schools.

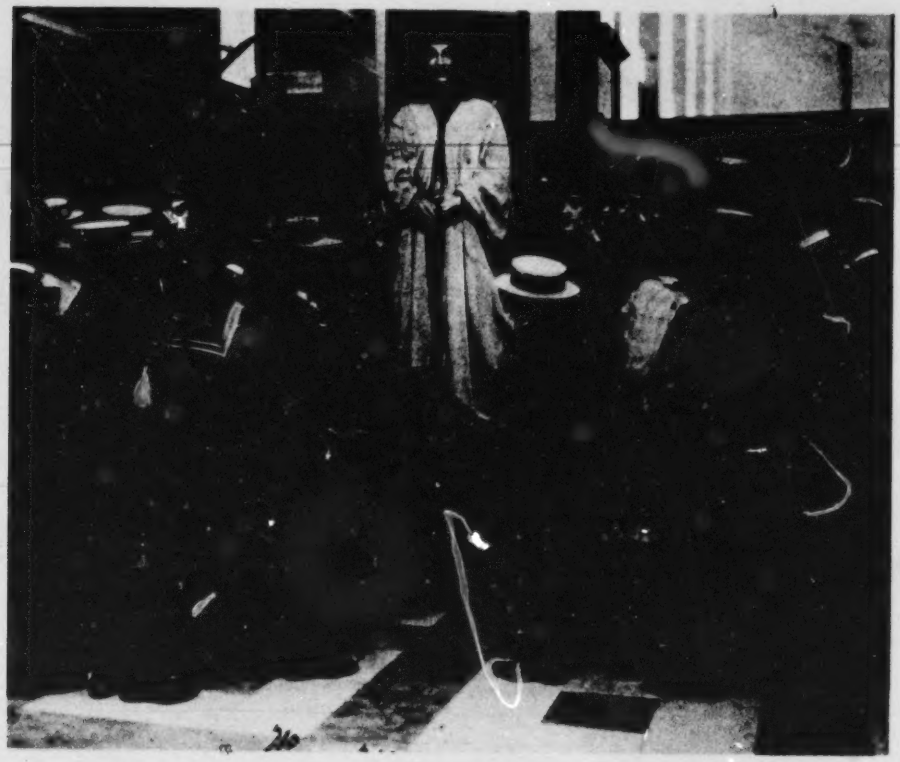
With the addition of individual development to the stated aims, free public education simply to prepare for entry into the labor force is not sufficient. Likewise, a common curriculum is regarded today as a Procrustean anachronism. With the U.S. Supreme Court having established in the 1954 *Brown* decision the right of all children to attend the same integrated local schools, the issue of what constitutes equality is more complex: Is bus-aided integration (or its absence) equal opportunity? Is the right to establish a tax-supported bilingual school equality? Is access to many "schools of choice" equality? In regard to equality within a given locality, gross disparities in the ability of local communities to support schools have resulted in court challenges to the legality of property taxes as the prime base for financing schools.

Such issues are likely to be the motivation for and at the heart of educational change for some time to come. The issue of who shall be educated is caught up in expressions such as "lifelong" and "recurring" education. Change will be toward extending opportunity downward to younger ages and upward to older ones. Access to the learning continuum at any age will become much easier; news stories increasingly recount the phenomena of "housewives in their 30s" taking over community colleges.

The issue of providing for individual differences will be expressed in steady implementation of many innovations already largely accepted in concept. Witness this 1966 statement of what is not yet widespread: "*. . . continuous pupil progress uninhibited by grade barriers; subject matter organized sequentially around fundamental concepts, principles, and generalizations; instructional materials gathered together for the task at hand and the varying abilities of the learners involved with it; criterion performance standards inherent in the learning task itself; alternative classroom placements for learners based on pupil diagnoses and individual expectations.*"

What will continue to trouble us is how to provide simultaneously for individuals "to do their thing" and for all to acquire the education they need for performing "all social, domestic, civic, and moral duties." The sense of sin perceived by Myrdal and our fear of sloth, if nothing else, will protect against losing sight of one or the other of these twin, traditional goals.

The immediate road ahead will see us attempting to restore some of our old sense of *community* in regard to schooling and education. Breaking out of the egg-crate building and the 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. schedule into the larger community and the itinerant day will become *de rigueur* among innovative schools. There will be new partnerships among schools, museums, public health agencies, industry, and public media—especially television—for educational purposes. Community involvement will be more widespread; more people will be part-time teachers (and, of course, part-time students). But *citizen involvement*, after a cyclone of rhetoric and a short whirlwind of activity, will fall far short of today's predictions. This is but one of those short cycles which will move us, nonetheless, one step more toward that visionary goal of a learning society. Some good almost always rubs off from such cycles of enthusiasm and excess.



Field trips to museums remain standard, but the experience is not as formal as in the 1890s.

There will be changes in the ratio of Federal, State, and local support for education, with the proportion paid by the first two increasing and that of the third declining. The courts will continue to play a significant role in the adjustments. Accompanying these changes will be tension regarding authority to make decisions. This tension will carry the controversy far beyond the issue of decentralization versus centralization into the finer nuances of what is better centralized and what decentralized. The stirring of this pond will keep it muddy—to a degree, deliberately. Some of the fun is taken out, along with challenges to candidates for public office, when lines of authority and responsibility are defined too rationally. Change in our society and, therefore, in education, has seldom been strongly motivated by desire to remove ambiguity, even though we tend to place rationality high on our scale of values.

And so, in education, as in many other things, it is the worst of times and the best of times. The schools have not changed and do not change as quickly as some of us would like. On the other hand, they change much faster than others of us would prefer. They will not be nearly as good by 2001 as some futurists say they will be; nor will they be nearly as bad as others predict. We can safely assume that the predictions most designed to catch our attention will be erroneous. That there will be no schools is a tantalizing thought but no doubt it is wrong. That there is no future in teaching as a career likewise is wrong.

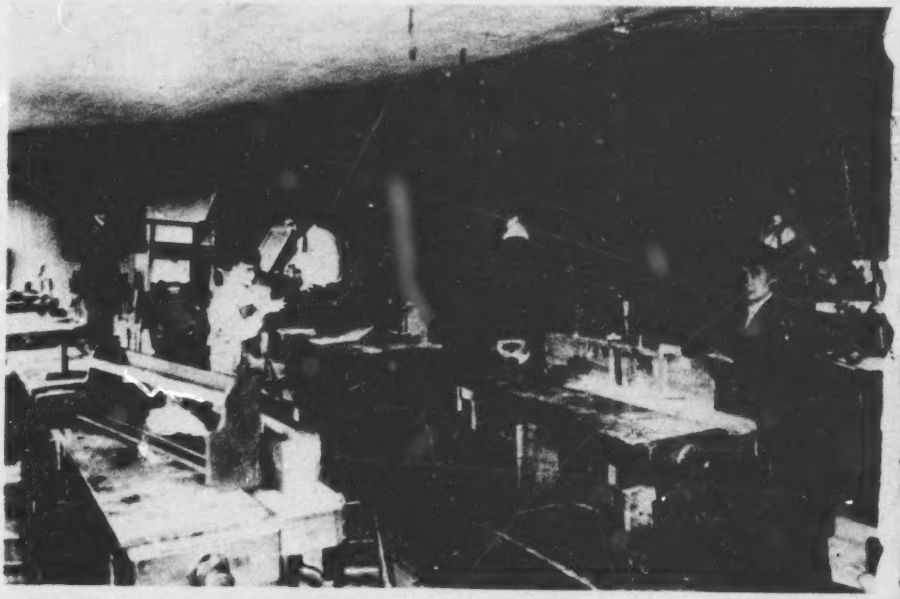
There will be several interesting cycles of educational change before 2001; there will be an excess of claims and counterclaims. Careers will be made of both kinds of excess. At close range, nothing will seem to be changing except the appearance of change. The long look will reveal, however, that there has been considerable health and vitality in a balance of stability and change over the past two centuries and that we nevertheless have many, many miles (sorry, kilometers) to go before we attain the learning society. In that pursuit, our visions will change still further. □

The Voc Ed

Austria's Archduke Francis Ferdinand had been assassinated almost three years earlier, World War I was at the height of its fury, and the United States was on the brink of entering the conflict. Soon it was not only to send waves of doughboys to the trenches in France but to become, thanks to a rush toward industrialization that had seen manufacturing surpass agriculture as the chief source of the Nation's wealth, a crucial source of materiel in a new, mechanized form of warfare.

Against this background of a convulsive struggle abroad and a growing need for skilled workers at home, the Congress passed and President Woodrow Wilson signed—on February 23, 1917—the landmark Smith-Hughes Act. Introduced by Senator Hoke Smith and Representative Dudley M. Hughes, both of Georgia, the new law broke with a centuries-old tradition by which preparation for work was excluded from the school curriculum. Culminating years of effort on the part of numerous individuals, organizations, and government agencies, it provided Federal support and leadership for establishing vocational education in the Nation's high schools.

Not that vocational education, in the broad sense of that term, was new. The discipline of learning certain basic skills arose thousands of years before the birth of Christ when such metals as copper and bronze began to replace stone, bone, and horn as material for axes, hammers, knives, and other tools and implements. Ultimately a trained work force emerged. Thus in Athens beginning about 460 B.C. a vigorous public works program—made possible by craftsmen who exchanged their skills for wages—resulted in such splendid structures as the Parthenon and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The magnificent cathedrals constructed during the Middle Ages spoke more eloquently than words of the glory of God, and incidentally of the availability of artisans capable of building them. In subsequent centuries and notably in the United States, the development of a large corps of well trained, highly skilled workers has been fundamental to technological, economic and social advances of unparalleled dimensions.



At the time of our Nation's founding and for most of the decades since, the training of workers predominantly took the form of apprenticeship. Job skills were inculcated by father instructing son and mother teaching daughter, or by arrangements under which a beginner worked as a helper to a journeyman or master craftsman. Vocational education as such, however, was regarded as somehow less worthy than other aspects of learning and therefore not appropriate as a classroom enterprise. In *A History of the Problems of Education*, John Brubacher sees this attitude as a remnant from Athenian culture. The Greeks excluded vocational training from the school curriculum, he says, because the "industrial arts were too closely connected with the ancient institution of slavery" and thus carried "a servile stigma." In any case, education and work were seen as being in unrelated realms, a point of view that was to persist over the centuries.

That they ultimately began to come together was primarily a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, which caused production to be shifted from the home to the factory and from handcraft to power-driven machinery. Whereas early craftsmen learned the entire manufacturing process, from obtaining the raw material to turning out the finished product, the machine worker was seldom exposed to more than a fractional part of what his job was all about. In addition, whereas the apprentice served a master who had a traditional and often legal responsibility for his training, behavior, and welfare, the neophyte factory worker saw his employer as a faceless corporation or a far-removed capitalist who didn't so much as know the employee's name and had no particular obligation to him.

Thus a gap developed, with training for a vocation ceasing to be attached to production and instead being left up to the individual. The schools were identified as the logical institution to fill that gap and help meet the Nation's economic need by producing workers able to handle the increasingly complex industrial machine and processes. There were also social pressures for the schools to take on a job-training function—so that they might respond more realistically, for example, to the educational needs of the great mass of young people. In 1910, to take a representative year, only one of every four boys or girls continued their education beyond elementary school—in large part, many parents claimed, because the high school curriculum was geared to students bound for college and did little or nothing for those who wanted to prepare for the new kinds of jobs that were opening up. Organized labor charged that the high schools served only a small segment of the

Breakthrough

society and were short-changing the sons and daughters of working people. Many observers pointed to the Land-Grant College Acts of 1862 and 1890, which provided Federal support to establish and maintain State colleges focused on agriculture, the mechanical arts, and the domestic sciences. If the Federal Government could support such instruction in the colleges, they insisted, it could do no less at the secondary level. A few States (Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio among them) had in fact already greeted the arrival of the 20th century by adopting laws establishing vocational education in their high schools. The champions of reform contended that the Federal Government would have to chip in too — with money and with leadership — if the movement was to catch hold.

National pride also became a consideration, with the publication of the report of a Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education appointed by President Wilson in 1914. "In this whole country," it declared, "there are fewer trade schools than are to be found in the little German kingdom of Bavaria, with a population not much greater than that of New York City. There are more workers being trained at public expense in the city of Munich alone than in all the cities of the United States, representing a population of more than 12,000,000."

The proposed new law nevertheless generated considerable opposition, predictably on the basis of the costs involved but more especially as a matter of principle. Aid such as that called for in Smith-Hughes, it was claimed in the Congressional debate, not only posed the threat of Federal control of the schools but would "cause the States to lean upon the National Government for the support of their own educational systems" (as President Buchanan had said in vetoing a

predecessor to the Land-Grant College Act of 1862). The bill's proponents dismissed these arguments and dwelt on such matters as equity, increased farm production, strengthening the work force, and individual attainment.

"The wealthy classes can always be sure of such training as they desire for their young," said Representative George Huddleston of Alabama in arguing for a curriculum that included job training, "but the man who toils for a day's wages must educate his boy and his girl at the public school if they are to be educated at all." Noting the greater yields that farmers might achieve by applying recent scientific advances in agriculture, Representative Caleb Powers of Kentucky pointed out that "it is the purpose of the bill before us to help carry, especially to the children of these farmers, such knowledge as will make them practical and highly productive farmers." Economic progress required that Americans "born and reared in this country" receive proper job training, said Representative James R. Marin of Illinois, adding, "We cannot rely on immigrant labor forever." Declared Representative Homer P. Snyder of New York: "Nothing will more benefit the country at large than the stimulation and direction of the idea of the young to broaden their field of endeavor and to realize that mechanical and business development is as valuable if not more valuable than the development merely of their mental powers along professional lines."

The proponents carried the day, and thus was adopted "an Act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure." While Senator Smith and Congressman Hughes were basking in the glow of their achievement, Mrs. Hughes pointed out to her husband that the bill said nothing about training traditionally of interest to women. Promptly thereafter the reference to "agriculture and the trades and industries" was broadened to include "home economics."

Ancillary to carrying out its objectives, the Act contained several provisions that have had a lasting impact on Federal support not only of vocational education but of education generally. To deal with the issue of "Federal control," for example, its administration within each State was placed in the hands of a State Board of Education. Toward deterring the States from tending to "lean upon the National Government for the support of their own educational system," appropriations under the law bear the condition that for each dollar of Federal money expended, the State or local community or both shall spend at least an equal amount. (Currently the States and localities are overmatching the Federal contribution by a ratio of more than five to one.) And to ensure adequate planning and accountability, each State was called upon to develop a State plan outlining how it intended to proceed, and to submit annual reports of how the available money was being spent and what progress was being achieved.

Such features of Smith-Hughes as State plans, arrangements for State administration, and the requirement for matching State and local funds became models for subsequent vocational education legislation; and the safeguards against Federal control and dependence on the national Government did much to establish a Federal role in the operation of the Nation's schools.

The Federal vocational education laws enacted over the years since Smith-Hughes have become progressively broader in their provisions, offering the States greater administrative flexibility, giving them more options, and enabling them to afford wider educational opportunities to youth and to adults as well. There has at the same time been established an educational mechanism that can be quickly responsive in times of national emergency, as witness the 7.75 million people who were prepared for industrial jobs during World War II.

With enrollments in occupational training programs approaching 15 million and with annual expenditures for them of nearly $3 billion — almost 85 percent of that amount from State and local sources — vocational education is now recognized as a vital component of the school curriculum, not only building a foundation for economic progress but broadening the career horizons of individual citizens throughout the Nation. And Smith-Hughes showed the way.

—EDWIN L. RUMPF

Acting Director,
OE's Division of Vocational & Technical Education

In the Wake of

At about 6:30 in the evening on Friday, October 4, 1957, the news tickers of the New York-based wire services clacked out a priority bulletin. Datelined Moscow, it announced that the Soviet Union had successfully launched the first man-made satellite – "Sputnik," short for "Iskustvennyi Sputnik Zemli," meaning "artificial traveler around the earth."

Almost as astonishing as the fact that the Russians had gotten Sputnik into orbit at all, the reports noted, was its weight: more than 150 pounds heavier than Vanguard, the most frequently mentioned American entry in what the newspapers dubbed the race for space.

Initially, at least, the American public didn't seem quite sure what to make of the announcement. A Boston correspondent for one of the national news magazines reported encountering "massive indifference." In Denver the word was that "there's a vague feeling that we have stepped into a new era, but people aren't discussing it the way they are football and the Asiatic flu." The Milwaukee newspapers proclaimed that history had been made, but they were referring to the Braves' first appearance in a World Series as representatives of America's beer center.

As additional information became available over the next several days the mood began to change. It developed that the three-stage Russian rocket that had pushed Sputnik aloft was nearly 20 times more powerful than that planned for Vanguard, and that Sputnik's polar orbit – against the earth's rotation – was deemed far more difficult to achieve than the east-west orbit contemplated for the American launching. The letter-to-the-editor columns were quickly awash with charges that the newspapers were being duped, that it was all an elaborate hoax perpetrated through the use of strategically placed directional radio transmitters. The more common reaction, however, was not disbelief of the phenomenon itself – after all, thousands of curious "moonwatchers" had taken to keeping track of Sputnik's comings and goings – but of the proposition that the Russians had been responsible for it. Few had imagined that Russian science had advanced so far. The signals had nevertheless been coming in. There had been the report in 1955, for example, that the Soviet Union had trained some 1,900,000 teachers by that year, as contrasted with the American total of 1,360,000; and that more specifically, the Russians were preparing young people for careers in science at a rate of some 126,000 annually as compared with our 59,000.

"In America," reporters were told by a Russian scientist attending meetings being held in Washington at the time of the Sputnik launching in connection with the International Geophysical Year, "you have trouble recruiting young men to study science. In the Soviet Union we have trouble turning them down. With us, science is a matter of pride, and everybody wants to be a scientist." Added Dr. Vannevar Bush, then chairman of the corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "If there's a youngster with talent for science, they make sure he gets all the education he can take. We still have bright boys who can't afford to go to college. There ought to be some kind of program for making sure our boys get all the education *they* can take."

While Dr. Bush's remarks would require some de-sexing to make them digestible today, his views struck a responsive chord. Others quickly echoed them. In 1955, it was pointed out, one-third of all high school students qualified for college had failed to continue their education because of lack of funds, and more particularly, higher education had for that reason been denied to half of those scholastically ranked among the top 30 percent. And as the Sputnik-stimulated conversation broadened, this skimming-off process was revealed to be only one among a broad range of problems.

Surveys showed, for example, that the colleges and universities were having grave difficulties in filling faculty vacancies. Moreover, the proportion of top-quality faculty members was declining. In the 1953-54 academic year, whereas 40 percent of all college teachers held doctoral degrees, only 31 percent of the new faculty members hired that year held doctorates and by 1956-57 the figure was down to 23 percent. Part of the problem was that relatively few institutions of higher education even offered doctoral programs – only 160 as of 1957, and of that total 60 awarded fewer than ten such degrees a year.

Nor as many educators pointed out, were the trouble spots by any means limited to higher education. Though the United States took pride in being the leading nation in a world community in which English was but one among a couple of dozen major languages, only Spanish and French were being studied by any appreciable segment of American high school students. Overall, less than 15 per cent of the public high school population was studying a modern foreign language (not a surprising figure, really, since fewer than half of the Nation's secondary schools offered such courses) and the same percentage held true for the three million students attending college. And Russian was particularly neglected. Witness a New York *Times* editorial arising from the fact that shortly before the launching of Sputnik the U.S. Office of Education had received copies of the mathematics and science books used in Soviet elementary and secondary schools. Even ten months later, the *Times* pointed out, the Office had still been unable "to find persons with dual competence in Russian to make comparisons from partial translations with American school texts." The situation did not seem destined to improve. Scanty though high school foreign language courses were, the supply of teachers prepared to conduct them was nevertheless 25 percent below the demand, and meanwhile the number of college students training to teach foreign languages was steadily dropping.

And there were other shortages as well. With only 26,000 full- and part-time guidance counselors available throughout the Nation's entire elementary and secondary school system, experts said an additional 15,000 were needed in the high schools alone to achieve anything approaching adequacy. According to HEW Secretary Marion B. Folsom, the Nation needed at least 159,000 additional classrooms just to keep up with the expanding population, not to speak of dealing with overcrowded schools and half-day schedules. Though the direct responsibility for the conduct of education lay with the States, only six had full-time supervisors of mathematics and science, and only two had supervisors for foreign language instruction.

Such shortfalls and the need to give education a boost had not gone un-

Sputnik

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

VOL. CVII . . No. 36,614. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1957. FIVE CENTS

SOVIET FIRES EARTH SATELLITE INTO SPACE; IT IS CIRCLING THE GLOBE AT 18,000 M. P. H.; SPHERE TRACKED IN 4 CROSSINGS OVER U. S.

HOFFA IS ELECTED TEAMSTERS' HEAD; WARNS OF BATTLE

Defeats Two Foes 3 to 1 —Says Union Will Fight 'With Every Ounce'

Text of the Hoffa address is printed on Page 9.

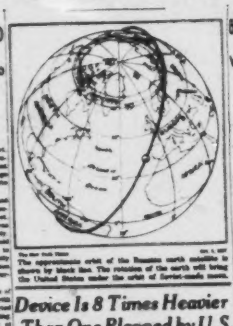
By A. H. RASKIN

IN TOKEN OF VICTORY: Dave Beck, retiring head of the Teamsters Union, raises hand of James R. Hoffa upon his election as Union's president. At right is Sen. Kuchel.

COURSE RECORDED

Navy Picks Up Radio Signals—4 Report Sighting Device

By WALTER SULLIVAN



560 MILES HIGH

Visible With Simple Binoculars, Moscow Statement Says

Text of Two statements appears on Page 2.

By WILLIAM J. JORDEN

Device Is 8 Times Heavier Than One Planned by U.S.

By JOSEPH KRAFT

SATELLITE SIGNAL BROADCAST HERE

Impulses Carried on Radio and TV—First Reported by Long Island Station

By JOHN MacVEIGH

FAUBUS COMPARES HIS STAND TO LEE'S

Says His Will Remain Loyal to People of Arkansas—All Is Quiet at School

By RUSSELL BRANT

Flu Widens in City; 10% Rate Predicted; 200,000 Pupils Out

By MEDICUS ADAMS

ARGENTINA TAKES EMERGENCY STEPS

State of Siege Proclaimed in Buenos Aires Region —Arrests Reported

By EDWIN L. JAMES

Ex-Premier Mollet Accepts Bid To Form a New French Cabinet

Socialist Leader Agrees With Reluctance and Without Going Back On...

By ROBERT C. DOTY

City Sifts Charge That Schupler, Brooklyn Councilman, Sold a Job

By PAUL CROWELL

Warsaw Crushes New Protest; Clubs, Tear Gas Rout Students

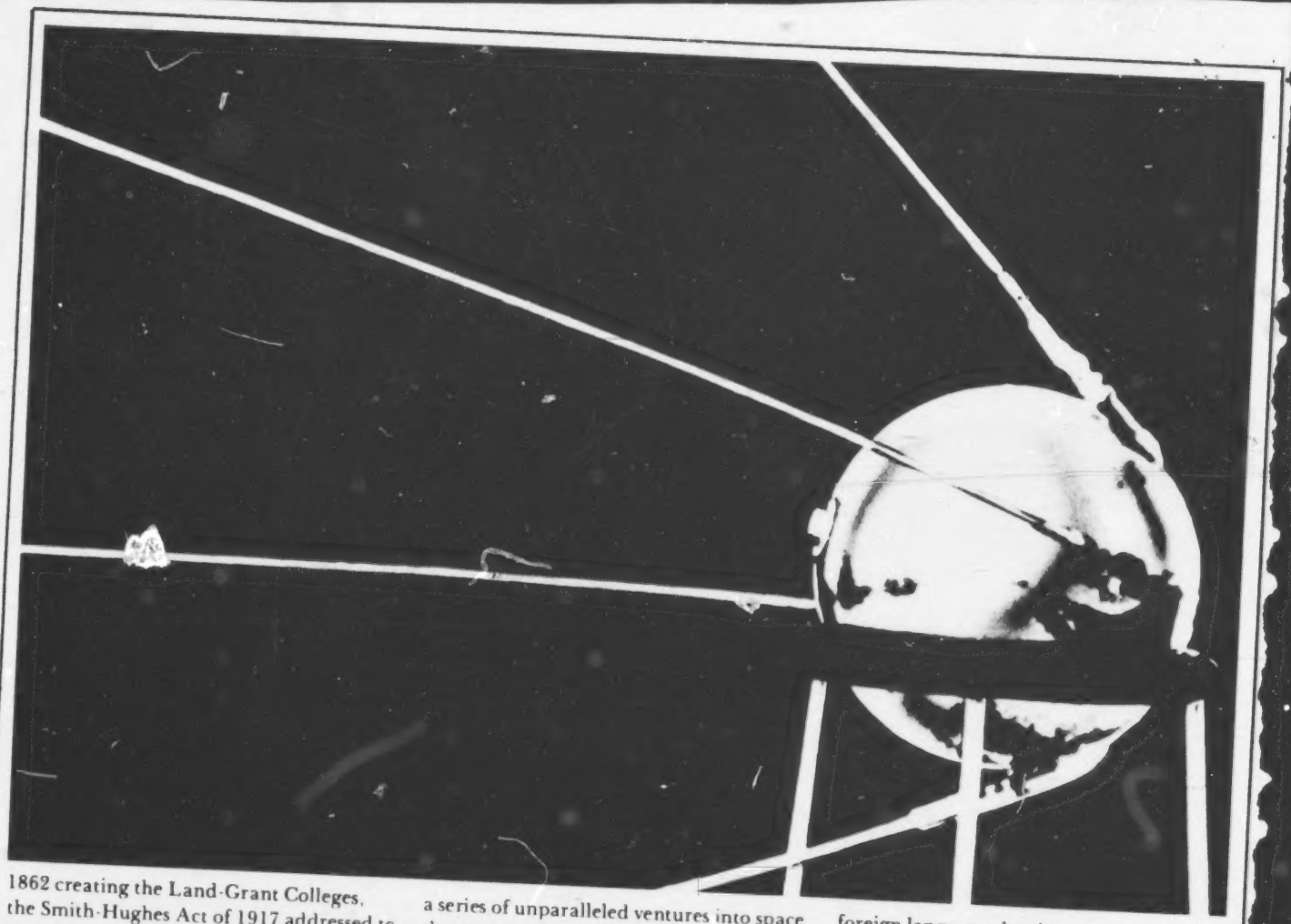
By SYDNEY GRUSON

Guy Mollet

noticed. In a special message to Congress in January of 1956, President Eisenhower had called attention to critical shortages "in medicine, teaching, nursing, science, engineering, and other fields of knowledge," and a few months later he told a meeting of the National Education Association that "our schools are strong points in our National defense. . . . more important than Nike batteries, more necessary than our radar warning nets, and more powerful even than the energy of the atom." Former Senator William Benton returned from a tour of the Soviet Union to tell reporters that "education has become a main feature of the cold war . . . . Russia's classrooms and libraries, her laboratories and teaching methods may threaten us more than her hydrogen bombs . . . ." General Nathan F. Twining, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, declared that "the security of our Nation in the years ahead depends as much on the wisdom and skill of our engineers, scientists, and technicians as it does upon the courage of our fighting men. . . ." James B. Conant, former president of Harvard, agreed that education needed help but insisted that it should be extended across the board and not just in the areas of science and engineering. What was needed, he said, was "not more Einsteins but more Washingtons and Madisons."

Spurred by such comments from national leaders, concern for strengthening the schools and colleges began to gather momentum. Ultimately the call came from several quarters for the Federal Government to lead the way by enacting supportive legislation. That proposal quickly ran into firm opposition. By failing to mention education, it was argued in and out of Congress, the Constitution reserved responsibility for its conduct to the States, and thus the Federal Government had no business getting involved. Moreover, the opponents declared, Federal aid to the schools and colleges was a sure path to Federal control over them.

The advocates of Federal assistance responded by dwelling on the vital part played by education in the Nation's progress and security, and on the proposition that since the problems were national in scope they required national attention. Moreover, they argued, there was precedent for this kind of assistance—notably in such legislation as the Morrill Act of



1862 creating the Land-Grant Colleges, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 addressed to vocational education, the Cooperative Research Act of 1954, and the Library Services Act of 1956. What proved to be the most stirring stimulus to action came on that Friday evening in the fall of 1957 with the announcement from Moscow that put the word "sputnik" into American dictionaries.

The convening of the 85th Congress three months later brought on the introduction of a rash of Federal aid to education bills—ultimately reaching some 150 in all. The most acceptable proved to be HR 13247, introduced in the House by Representative Carl Elliott and paired in the Senate with S 4237, introduced by Senator Lister Hill. Having passed both Houses by wide margins, the bill was signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 2 as the National Defense Education Act of 1958, designed "to strengthen the national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs; and for other purposes."

Meanwhile there had been the launching of the initial American satellite, Explorer, and the United States was off on a series of unparalleled ventures into space that were to lead some 11 years later to the triumphant touchdown of Apollo 11 on the lunar surface. By that time the National Defense Education Act had recorded some noteworthy achievements of its own.

ore than 1.5 million men and women had been enabled to pursue higher education under NDEA's Title II National Student Loan Program. Title III, originally written to strengthen elementary and secondary instruction in science, mathematics and modern foreign languages, had been broadened to include 50-50 matching grants to the States covering a wide range of subjects. The Title IV graduate fellowship program was expanding the supply of teachers and raising the quality of college faculties by enabling more than 15,000 men and women each year to complete their doctoral programs. Title V had provided more than $158 million to the States for guidance and testing and had helped raise the number of full-time counselors by more than 260 percent, to 44,000. Under Title VI (by this time also broadened) the skills of some 122,000 teachers and education specialists had been sharpened at NDEA-supported institutes offering advanced training not only in counseling and foreign languages but in such areas as reading, history, English, civics, and geography. Thanks in large part to Title VII, the schools were making greater use of such products of technology as television, computers, motion pictures, and tape recorders. And under Title VIII, more than 85,000 young people had been trained in such fields as electronics, drafting design, and data processing, while the number of institutions offering technical education had grown from 262 in 1959 to 1,[illegible]00 a decade later. All in all, by the time Neil Armstrong stepped on the moon, the Federal investment in education through NDEA had reached nearly $3 billion.

Among the various people who had commented on the launching of Sputnik was Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy of the University of Kansas, and this is what he said: "The message which this little ball carries to Americans, if they would but stop and listen, is that in the last one-half of the 20th century . . . nothing is as important as the trained and educated mind." Clearly his fellow citizens *had* stopped and listened, and the message had come through loud and clear.

—MARK TRAVAGLINI
Assistant Editor, *American Educatio*

LIFELONG LEARNING

BY RONALD AND BEATRICE GROSS

In the education of a nation, as in that of an individual, the greater part occurs outside of schools and colleges. As the distinguished educational statesman John Dewey wrote in 1930, "Schools are not the ultimate formative force. Social institutions, the trend of occupations, the pattern of social arrangements, and the finally controlling influences in shaping minds . . . . Effective education, that which really leaves a stamp on character and thought, is obtained when graduates come to take their part in the activities of adult society."

This is a touchstone of sanity in thinking about the roots of learning and growth. We learn what we live. The classroom offers one specialized kind of learning, confined to one period of life and one part of the population. But the learning that enables individuals and communities to meet changing conditions and fulfill their potentialities is not stored up during the years of schooling alone. It is, as it has always been, the daily creation of people learning and living together. The further back we peer into our educational history, and the further we look into its future, the clearer we see the force of nonschool learning.

As we cast our eyes backward it becomes clear that our greatest teachers were the land itself, in its vast loneliness and its promise of richness; the political and economic challenge of building whole communities, and later a whole society, from the ground up; voluntary groups, which the French observer Alexis de Tocqueville rightly remarked as so characteristically American; popular culture, variously represented by early newssheets, the Lyceums and Chautauquas of the 19th century, and today's commercial and public television; and a potent tradition of self-education stretching from Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln through Thomas Edison and Henry Ford down to Eric Hoffer and Malcolm X in our own day.

Above all, the great spur to learning was the American dream itself. The driving idea was that in this new world a man could fulfill his highest potentialities, become all that he was capable of being. In practice, to be sure, that noble ideal has not been uniformly applied. Throughout our history, considerably less than unlimited individual opportunity has been afforded to various minorities, and perhaps most pervasively to black Americans. The ideal nevertheless persists. Thus in *Frontiers of American Culture*, the eminent historian, James Trusloe Adams, observed after a lifetime of studying our past:

> *I think that what has perhaps struck me most has been the almost unique mobility of life in America, and, due to its infinite opportunities, the variety of jobs and positions—economic, social, political or other—which any individual may find himself filling in the course of his life. . . . from this has followed the need, above that felt in almost any other country, for constant readjustments, with their educational adjuncts of one sort or another, at almost any age . . . . This appears to have been an essential corollary to the whole nature of American life and the American Dream.*

Let's focus in on some key moments in American history, to get at least a post-hole sense of the pervasiveness and power of nonschool learning. The first settlers to these shores faced, and for the most part mastered, a learning challenge that dwarfs our highly touted "future shock." Imagine uprooting your family to emigrate to China—no, not China, more like the moon: an unknown, primitive, uncivilized, awesome fresh world. At once you face the task of disengaging

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yourself from your cultural and social setting, of planning for the trip, of trying to foresee what the new world will be like, of planning and preparing for it. Once you get there you have the problems of acclimatization, of providing yourself with the necessities of life, of creating a culture, of writing laws and running a government, of creating a system of justice, of providing needed professional services. What other people have ever faced such a challenge to their ability to master new skills, understand situations quickly and well, make decisions, and create together? Beyond all other countries, this one has confronted its people with the challenge to learn and grow – or die.

The culture of the Colonies was created and transmitted without reliance on schools and colleges. We are taught that Massachusetts established schools in every township in 1647 and that Harvard was founded in 1636. But in fact what Massachusetts did was simply pass a statute which was honored more in the breach than in the observance until well into the 19th century. And what was created at Cambridge in the 17th century was not Harvard as we know it, but an inflated grammar school. Our now-great universities – Yale, Princeton, Wisconsin, California, and the like – are barely three generations old, in the sense of being true institutions of higher learning.

In early America it was the community and its institutions which educated the young. "Schooling went on anywhere and everywhere," one historian has noted. "Pupils were taught by anyone and everyone . . .and most teaching proceeded on an individual basis." If adults in general – rather than professional teachers – educated the children, who educated the adults? Their textbooks were the agendas of their town meetings, the Sunday sermons and mid-week "lectures" of their clergymen, the speeches delivered on holidays and militia days, the books, pamphlets, newspapers, and almanacs which proliferated in the early 18th century. Voluntary organization came to the fore early on. Its spirit is conveyed by the Puritan divine, Cotton Mather, who proposed in 1710 that neighbors form "benefit societies" and address themselves to the following ques-

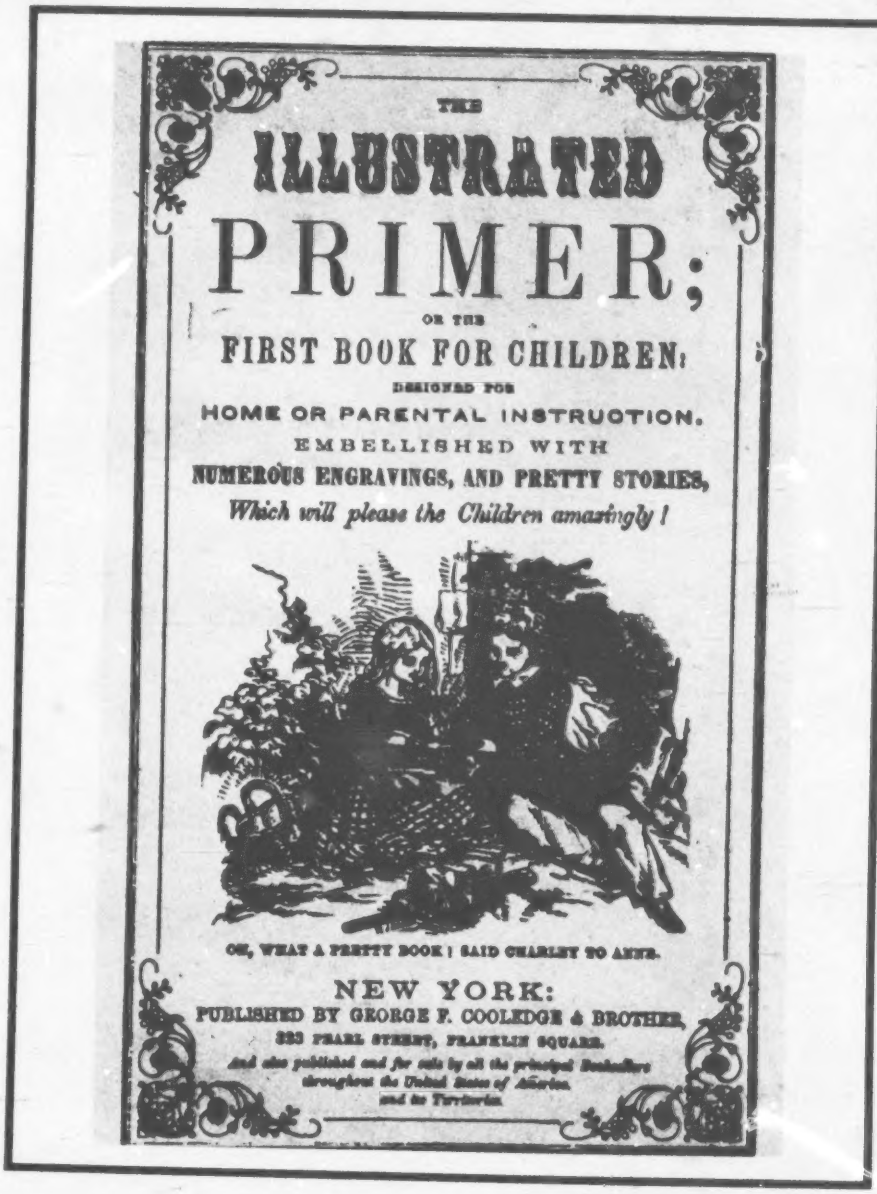
tions, which could well serve as the guiding principles for one of Ralph Nader's public interest groups today:

> Is there any matter to be humbly moved unto the legislative power, to be enacted into a law for public benefit?
>
> Is there any particular person whose disorderly behavior may be so scandalous and so notorious that we may do well to send unto the said person our charitable admonitions?
>
> Does there appear any instance of oppression or fraudulence in the dealings of any sort of people that may call for our essays to get it rectified?
>
> Can any further methods be devised that ignorance and wickedness may be chased from our people in general and that household piety in particular may flourish among them?

When the founding fathers articulated their notions of education, they thought not in terms of schooling but of the entire society. "Jefferson was a great believer in schooling," education historian Lawrence Cremin observes, "but it never occured to him that schooling would be the chief educational influence on the young. Schooling might provide technical skills and basic knowledge, but it was the press and participation in politics that really educated the citizenry. Public education was to be only one part of the education of the public, and a relatively minor part at that."

This point of view echoes throughout the formative years of the Republic. It is a far handsomer ideal than the mere building and maintenance of schools. It proposed a society designed and operated as an environment for learning and growth. Washington, in his Farewell Address, called upon his countrymen to "Promote. . .as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge." This commitment to the popularization of knowledge, to the provision to every man the means to know deeply and act wisely, is rightly recognized by Dr. Cremin as the true "genius of American education." We have not been, first and foremost, builders of educational systems. We have been empowerers of learners.

Lacking great research universities and even, for a time, towering intellectual and scientific figures, we nonetheless excelled in the *democratization* of culture. Some of the earliest observers of prerevolutionary American life, as Merle Curti shows in *Growth of American Thought*, noted the unique *diffusion* of knowledge here. America, it might be said, flourished on a lot of little knowledge, rather than on pinnacles of concentrated brainpower. It was an interesting experiment which shaped intellectual life in striking congruence with our democratic impulses. One would have to be bold to claim that our contemporary pattern—highly trained experts, expensive professionals, diplomaed and credentialed managers, and government subsidized research—is an unequivocal advance.


THE
ILLUSTRATED
PRIMER;
OR THE
FIRST BOOK FOR CHILDREN:
DESIGNED FOR
HOME OR PARENTAL INSTRUCTION.
EMBELLISHED WITH
NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, AND PRETTY STORIES,
Which will please the Children amazingly!
OH, WHAT A PRETTY BOOK! SAID CHARLEY TO ANN.
NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE F. COOLEDGE & BROTHER,
323 PEARL STREET, FRANKLIN SQUARE.
And also published and for sale by all the principal Booksellers throughout the United States of America, and its Territories.

Even more than Jefferson, the founder who symbolizes nonformal education is Benjamin Franklin. Himself self-educated, he nevertheless fully recognized the need for institutional supports for learners. His informal group of 12 members, the Junto, met continually for 30 years to discuss ideas and initiate social improvements. From their deliberations came a number of other organizations of nonformal education: a subscription library, the American Philosophical Society, an academy for young boys.

As America entered the 19th century, the burgeoning of splendid initiatives in nonformal education exceeds summarization here. Two stunning inventions must be mentioned: the Lyceum and Chautauqua. The first, launched by Josiah Holbrook in 1826, endeavored to popularize scientific knowledge through the sponsorship of study groups and lecturers, and also to agitate for the establishment of tax-supported public schools. In less than ten years it had 3,500 local organizations, with an overlay of county, State, and national organizations. The chapters created libraries and mini-museums, held weekly meetings, assembled and provided equipment for scientific experimentation, and hosted outside experts. Thoreau wrote in *Walden* that "The one hundred and

twenty-five dollars annually subscribed for a Lyceum in the winter is better spent than any other equal sum raised in the town."

Following Franklin's fine pattern of stressing both individual self-improvement and social reconstruction, the Lyceums stimulated not only the public school movement but also, some historians argue, the establishment of the U.S. Weather Bureau, library extension, museums and scientific laboratories, the National Education Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In the late 19th century the Chautauqua movement revived many of the impulses behind the Lyceums, though with added features—including summer schools offering plays, concerts, lectures, recreational activities, and formal courses; and for those unable to break away, correspondence study and guided home reading. The motivating forces were religion, money, and self-improvement—perhaps the most quintessentially American educational mixture ever concocted. The ideal of its inventor, John Vincent, could hardly be improved on today as an ideal for educators: "that education is the privilege of all, young and old, rich and poor, that mental development is only begun in school and college, and should be continued all of life." With the passage of time its small town base, its religious thrust, and its inevitable excesses and lapses have turned its name into a synonym for American middle-brow cultural strivings. But when it was vital, Chautauqua was an important vehicle in spreading progressive ideas on social, political, and economic issues—"the kind of thinking that supported the careers of Presidents like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt," according to historian C. Hartley Grattan.

The Lyceums and Chautauqua were merely institutionalized distillations of an oceanic educational ferment during the 19th century. We can only tick off the other nonformal educational agencies and modes which proliferated: public libraries, institutes like Cooper Union in New York, Lowell in Boston, and Franklin in Philadelphia; voluntary associations of myriad kinds including men's and women's service and professional associations, university extension, worker's education, the popular press, the great national debates over social policy, movements such as abolition, temperance, women's suffrage, the founding of experimental utopian communities.

Even more important than these enterprises were the social and economic conditions of the times. These conditions were still conducive to learning and growth: young people could see, experience, and participate in the work of the world as it occurred around them in small towns and cities. Apprenticeship offered training in most occupations, and there were few restrictions based on the need for formal education and diplomas. Opportunities were plentiful for many people to find and fulfill their aspirations.

Until the last 50 or 60 years this Nation thrived on an on-the-whole healthy faith

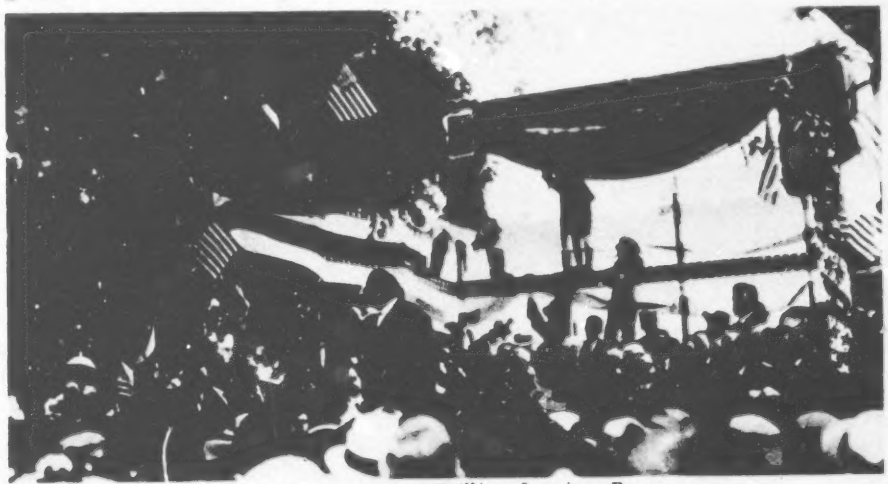
"Soap and schooling," cautioned Mark Twain, "are not as sudden as a massacre, but are more deadly in the long run."

in practical rather than academic learning. Learning outside of schools and college had been the mainstream. Distrust of schools stretches from Mark Twain, who remarked that "Soap and schooling are not as sudden as a massacre, but are more deadly in the long run," to Margaret Mead, who said: "My grandmother wanted me to get an education, so she kept me out of school." At the start of the 20th century, only ten percent of college-age youngsters went on to college; the country was run by what we now call (to their damage) "dropouts," and who would argue that it was run with discernibly less humanity and reasonableness, if without computer technology and motivation research?

The significance of the Lyceums and Chautauqua lies in the models they offered of an alternate tradition in American education – alternate to our mainstream conviction that education equals schooling. Horace Mann's crusade for public schools in the mid-1800s is usually presented as an unalloyed blessing. But there was another side to the matter, and from our historical vantage point it assumes considerable importance. "In 1839, after hearing Horace Mann deliver one of his talks," writes philosopher Maxine Green, "Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in his Journal: 'We are shut in schools . . . for ten or fifteen years, and come out at last with a bellyful of words and do not know a thing.' To know, for Emerson, meant to feel his poetic imagination soar. It meant to open his soul to the 'oversoul,' to see by the 'Divine light of reason' with which every human being was endowed. The Common School, teaching conventional or 'common' habits of thought and perception, seemed to him a barrier against authenticity. The school reformers, he believed, would make impossible the 'self-reliance' which alone permitted God to enter through the 'private door.' If, as was likely, the school inculcated vulgar and self-serving habits, or the values associated with Trade, it would merely serve to perpetuate an inadequate society, an Establishment that was basically inhumane."

Of course, Mann won. The public school movement swept all before it. But the suppressed tradition of nonformal, anti-statist individual education continued flowing underground. It bursts forth periodically, when the oppressiveness and ineffectiveness of the established system becomes intolerable. The most thoughtful spokesman in our time was Paul Goodman, who thought through carefully but boldly the ways in which nonformal learning could provide answers to the problems besetting us in education today. His credo brings the suppressed tradition up to our own time:

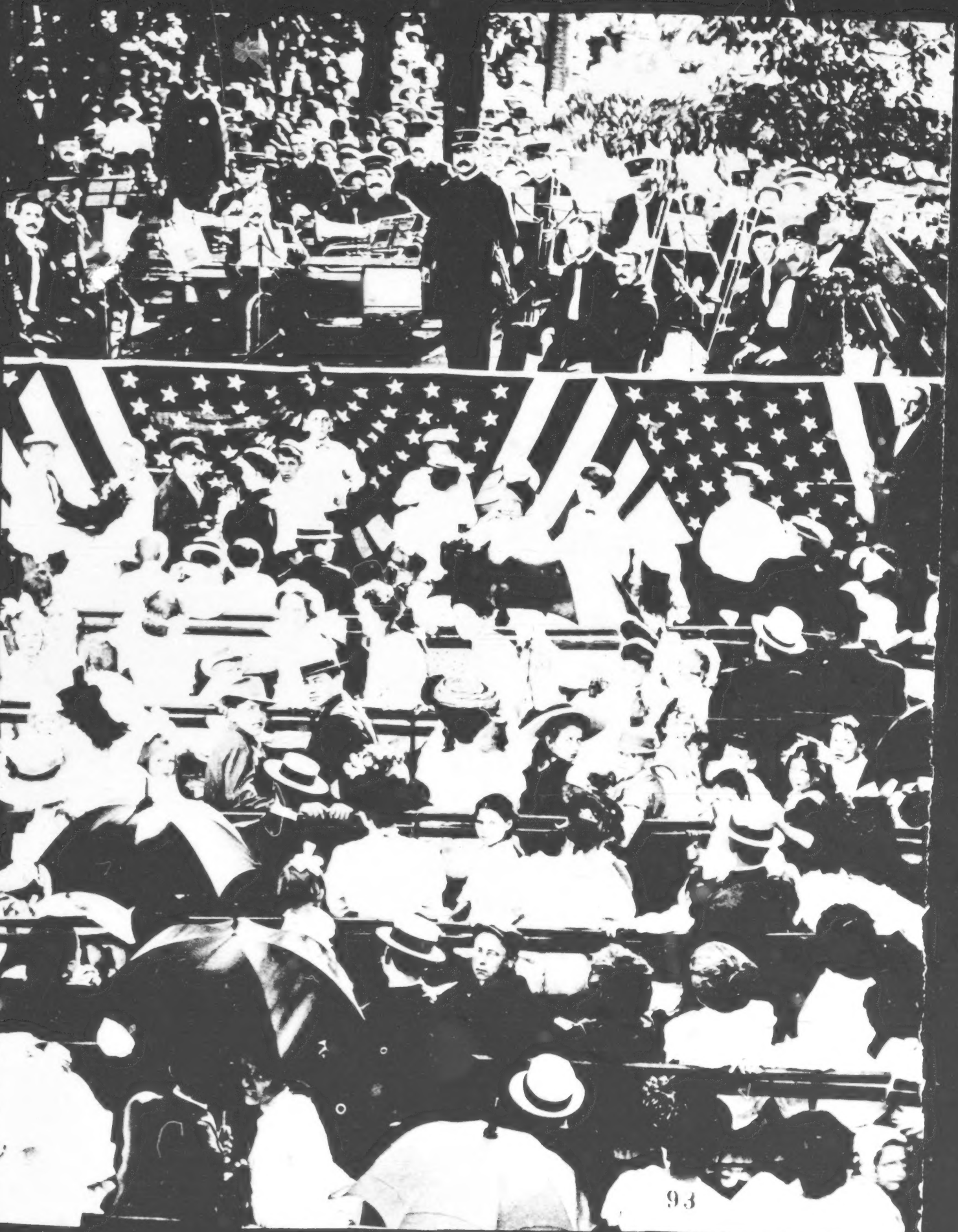
Ideally, the polis itself is the educational environment; a good community consists of worthwhile, attractive, and fulfilling callings and things to do, to grow up into. The policy I am proposing tends in this direction rather than away from it. By multiplying options, it should be possible to find an interesting course for each individual youth, as we now do for only some of the emotionally disturbed and the troublemakers. Voluntary adolescent choices are often random and foolish and usually transitory; but they are the likeliest ways of growing up reasonably. What is most essential is for the youth to see that he is taken seriously as a person, rather than fitted into an institutional system.



"The Great Commoner," William Jennings Bryan.

We do not have to peer into the past to see the potency of noninstitutionalized learning. If we merely open our eyes we will see it all around us today.

Even with schools and colleges so dominating our vision of education, the pervasiveness and importance of nonformal learning is readily demonstrable. Consider the vast educational enterprises of business and industry – occupational training, inservice training, occupational upgrading, manpower development, management and executive training. Add to it education in labor unions – apprentice programs, training of foremen and shop stewards – and an enormous armed forces network involving correspondence study, televised courses, and classroom instruction. Pile on top of this the educational work of churches and synagogues, community centers, civic organizations, voluntary groups, professional organizations with their conferences and conventions, the national health organizations, museums and galleries, libraries, government agencies, service clubs, and public television. Most



significant of all, add in the individual learning projects which, research reveals, most adults engage in but don't consider "education" because they have been schooled to equate learning with taking courses.

The result of cumulating these diverse learning activities is to reveal the lineaments of a vast nonsystem of individual and group learning which dwarfs institutionalized schooling. This is the kind of learning by which Americans as persons, and our communities and society, really keep changing and expanding to meet changing challenges of individual and collective life. The quality of learning

THOMAS EDISON

and of life for us as individuals, and for our Nation, is best measured by the quality of these learning opportunities. If they are narrow in breadth and unimaginative in character, our lives will be parochial and unenterprising. If they are varied, handsome, and challenging, so will be our prospects for growth.

This is true even for children. Recent analyses of the extant research on the growth of youngsters in and outside of schools – by Earl Shaefer, James Coleman, and Christopher Jencks – reveal three truths which should deflate the educators' *chutzpah*. First, the most rapid and formative period of a person's development occurs before he or she enters school, and of course the family is the most powerful agency in this development. Second, the Coleman report and others reveal that the impact of the school on students' learning is much less than we have thought. Finally, the Jencks report showed that schooling as preparation for adult life is much less effective than most people believed. In short, each of us is essentially shaped *before* school, *outside* of school, and *after* school.

In other countries, by the way, what we call "nonformal education" is increasingly recognized as a prime concern of those committed to enhancing the role of reason and learning in national life. In nations as diverse as France, Denmark, Yugoslavia, China, and Tanzania, the first principle of educational theory and practice is that what we learn, what we become, derives from the press of our entire social and cultural experience. A proper concern for education, therefore, must far transcend preoccupation with schools and colleges. It must embrace not only continuing education of a formal or informal kind, but even more what the British cultural historian Raymond Williams calls "the whole environment, its institutions and relationships, (which) actively and profoundly teach." "Education permanente" is the label UNESCO has given to this broader set of concerns; it might also be described simply as learning and growth that are lifelong and lifewide, supported by a congenial environment of institutions and laws.

There is much talk today of the need to move toward a "Learning Society." But it is rarely recognized that there are two ways to reach for this great goal. One is to further extend and strengthen schools and colleges. The other is to empower individuals to learn and grow by giving them the resources, support, encouragement, and motivation to move forward on their own. We can concentrate exclusively on increasing the scope, the power, and the quality of formal education. Or we can choose to enlarge and multiply the opportunities to learn throughout the lifespan and throughout the society.

The fact that we grew the second way suggests that this may be a style that can serve us in the future. Having once learned together through our work and professions, through our communal life in city and country, through an inner commitment to individual fulfillment – perhaps we can create the kind of climate where that native impulse can catch fire anew. Perhaps we can go beyond expanding and improving formal education, and become once again a nation of learners.

Seven Golden Days

President Theodore Roosevelt once called it "the most American thing in America." Just about everybody, as an editorial writer of the time observed, regarded its arrival as launching "the most important seven days of the year." It was called Chautauqua.

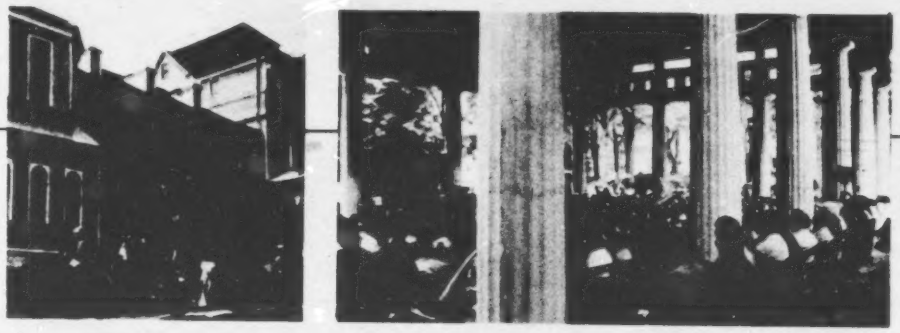
And what was Chautauqua like, in the closeup view of the turn-of-the-century citizens who flocked by the family to enjoy its wonders? It was culture and uplift, and it was also clowning and farce – presented during the summer under a tent pitched on a vacant lot. It was what people did in those days instead of going to the nickelodeon of a subsequent era or of watching the television that came later still. Only Chautauqua was more precious, because it was available only one week during the entire year.

At least that was true of one variety of the species – the traveling company of lecturers, orators, singers, classical musicians, not-so-classical musicians, Shakespearean actors, jugglers, and other performers who roamed the Nation during the summer. The other variety was fixed, having become established in southwestern New York State in 1874. Originally intended as a summer training program for Sunday school teachers, it had set up shop on the shores of Lake Chautauqua, which gave its name to what was to become a national movement. Though religious instruction was the focus of the first gatherings, within a few years the sessions had so expanded that the culture-hungry could spend their entire summer being exposed to language courses, scientific lectures and demonstrations, music, and ultimately such embellishments as university extension work. In time a School of Theology was established to train candidates for the ministry, and a four-year home study course was organized. The latter was to have an important impact on the concept of self-education and was of particular interest to women, relatively few colleges of the time having demonstrated any enthusiasm for coeducational arrangements.

The subsequently developed circuit Chautauqua, which was said by one observer to reach some 40 million people in more than 9,000 communities in the United States and Canada during any given season, also was essentially educational in nature, though the fare tended to be less sedate than that offered by its settled namesake. In any case it might very well mean Fraulein Marie Mayer of Oberammergau, Germany, lecturing on her appearance in the Passion Play as Mary Magdalene; Phil Clark and His Marching Men of Song; Madame Ernestine Schumann-Heink of the Metropolitan Opera; Daddy Groebecker's Swiss Yodelers; The Royal Hand Bell Ringers; the Ladies Harp Ensemble; or the star of Chautauqua stars, William Jennings Bryan. It was the Community Band of any town at all, perspiring in the late afternoon sun as they led a parade of townspeople down Main Street – blaring out such tunes as "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet" and "I Want a Girl Just Like the Girl That Married Dear Old Dad" – to the Chautauqua grounds.

Despite its pep-rally spirit, the itinerant Chautauqua was a well-organized business proposition run by individual entrepreneurs rather than by a national

The original Chautauqua – then and now.

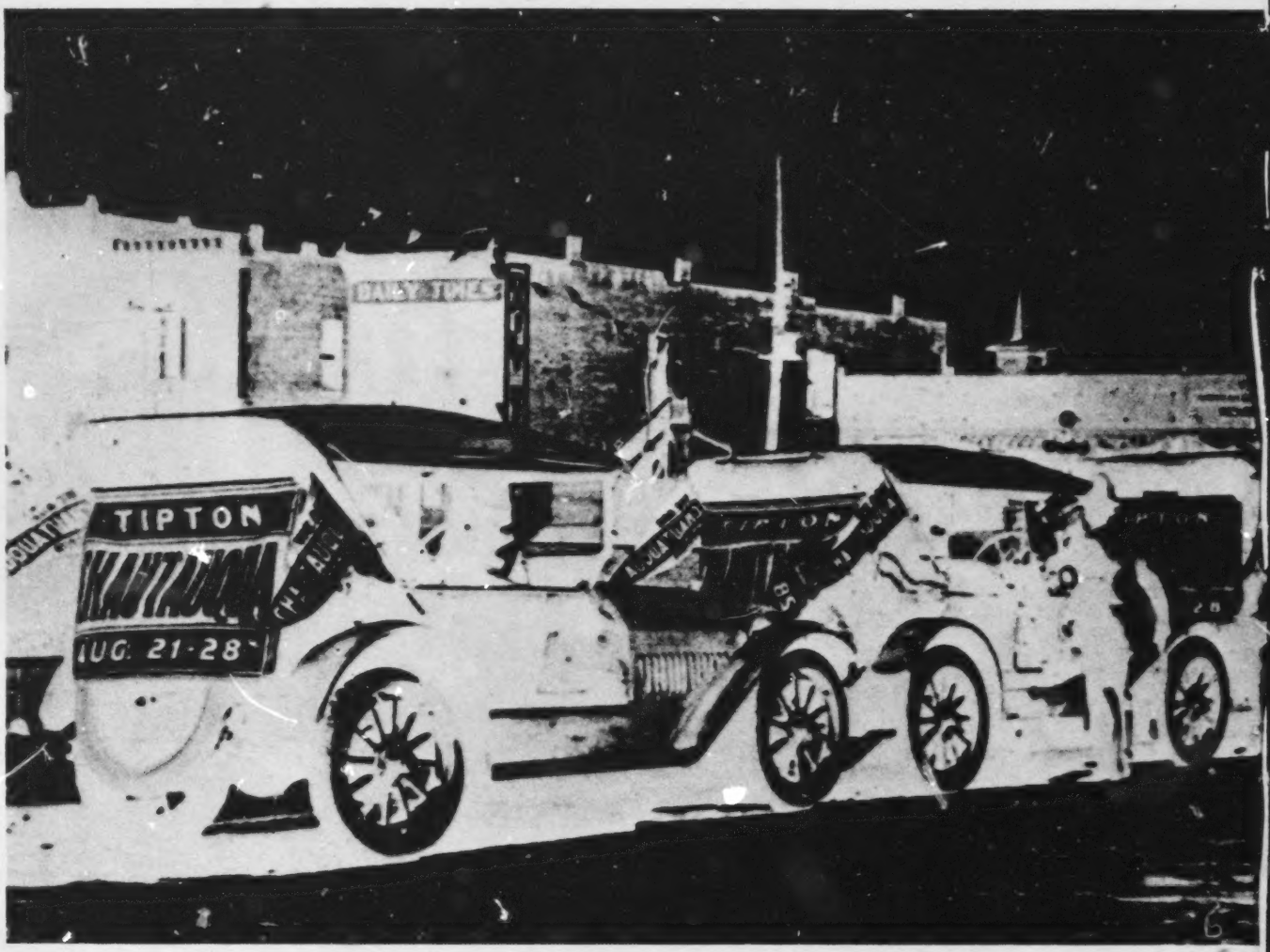


organization. They usually met once a year or so to exchange lies and try to steal ideas, but they operated on their own, and their chief stock in trade was an exceptionally slick tongue. One such was a personable fellow named J. Roy Ellison, whose schedule took him one afternoon in 1912 to Bozeman, Montana.

Before the train had pulled away Ellison had registered at the hotel and begun, as he said, to "case the main drag." By the nameplates on the shops he picked out what he figured was the town's leading citizen, a lawyer, and paid him a call. The conversation soon boiled down to the question of whether Bozeman was a hick burg inhabited by hayseeds or whether on the contrary it was "ready for Chautauqua." Mr. Ellison managed to recollect for the lawyer's benefit what Chautauqua had meant to him as a small boy in Nebraska when he "first caught a glimpse of the culture of the big cities," and he reflected on what it could mean now as a demonstration of Bozeman's high-mindedness.

The lawyer quickly summoned some of the other leading citizens, and within an hour they succeeded not only in convincing Ellison that Bozeman was *made* for Chautauqua but in forcing on him an ironclad agreement by which they guaranteed to cover all the costs. Such a guarantee was in fact standard Chautauqua procedure, along with another agreement that the townspeople would accept whatever attractions were offered, on an all-or-none basis.

Mr. Ellison's nimble maneuvers were reminiscent of those of an earlier manager, Harry P. Harrison, who in his book *Culture Under Canvas* recalled his forays into various towns in South Dakota just after the turn of the century. Rolling along the prairie on an "accommodation" train (one without a regular schedule) he would arrange for the crew to let him know when they were nearing a town. Then he'd quickly

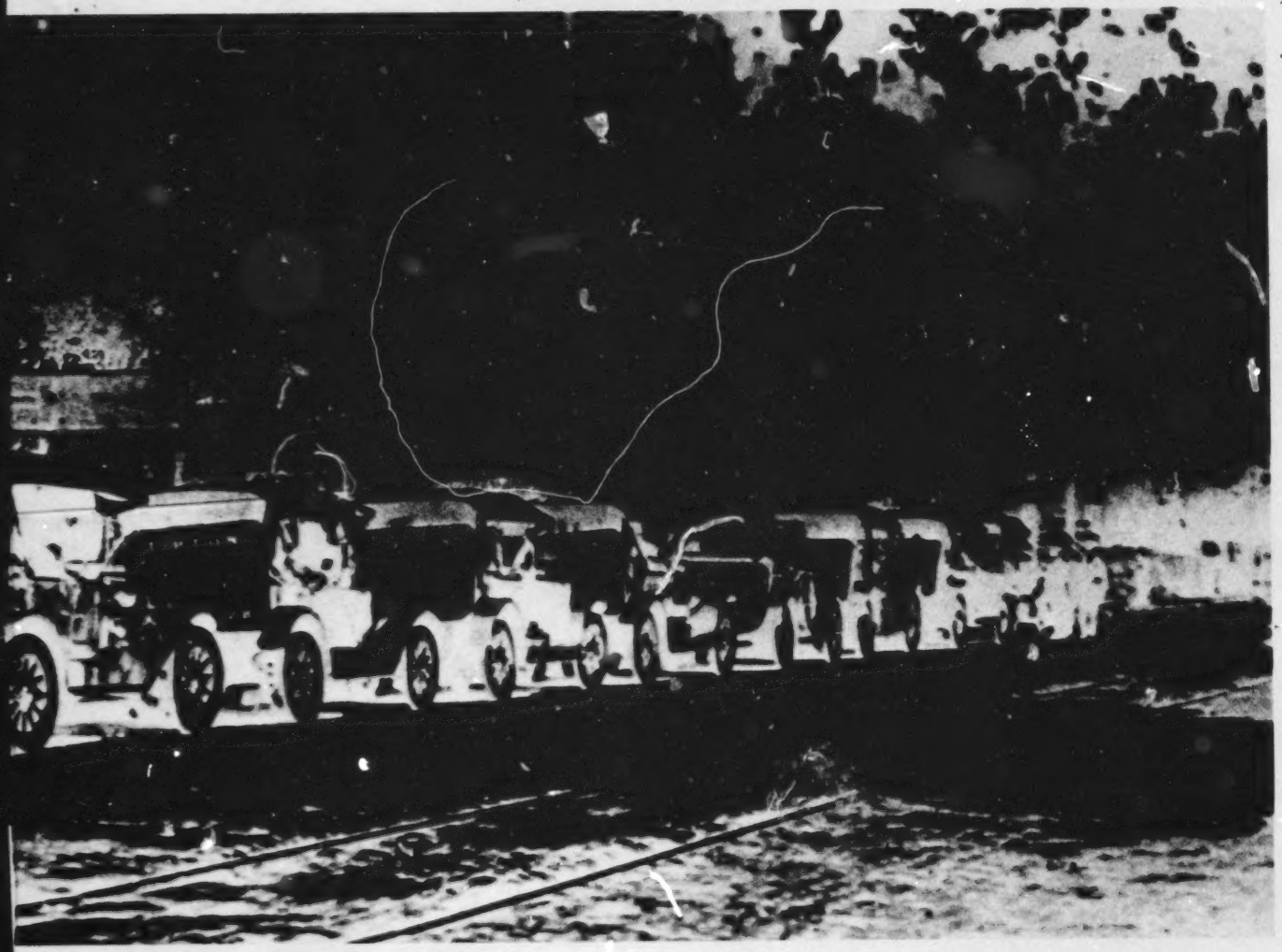


wash his face in the tin basin in the caboose, snap on a collar and necktie, wet down his hair, and jump off even before the cars stopped. Making a beeline for Main Street, he would call on a banker or lawyer and deliver his spiel. The crucial point in the subsequent sales pitch came when he heard three long blasts of the train whistle. By prearrangement with the engineer, this meant that he had exactly ten minutes. That signal was evidently inspirational to all concerned, for often as not he would climb back aboard the train with a Chautauqua commitment in his pocket.

One of the attractions he was selling was an oration called "Acres of Diamonds," which by that time the Reverend Russell H. Conwell had delivered some 5,000 times. This was probably the single most popular item ever offered by Chautauqua, and it contained a stirring suggestion whose appeal has endured to this day. The theme was success, and the measure was money, the idea being that everyone should be wealthy because wealth opens up opportunity to do good works (and though the Rev. Conwell didn't specifically say so, have a bang-up time in the bargain). "I say you *ought* to be rich," he proclaimed. "You have no *right* to be poor. . .because money has power." Though the speaker didn't get around to providing the recipe for acting on his injunction, his audiences never failed to agree that the Rev. Conwell had a cracker-jack idea.

The central attraction of Chautauqua, however, lay not so much in the beguilements of individual performers but in the breaks its arrival provided in life's routine. Weeks ahead of time, buggies and drays and later Model T's would be festooned with banners proclaiming "Chautauqua Is Coming!" Leading citizens wore oversized buttonhole tags vowing "I'll Be There." The library had a run on such books as *Four Girls at Chautauqua*. At the town's social center, the soda fountain, the people could talk of nothing else.

Then early one morning, usually a Monday, a group of men would start clearing the big lot behind the hardware store, chopping down the weeds and moving away the junk. The conclusive signal that the magic moment was at hand came with the appearance of wagons loaded with mountainous piles of brown canvas. Some of the older boys were selected to help put up the tent, an honor not far removed from winning the town horseshoe pitching championship. By the next morning all would be in readiness, the seats in neat rows, the American flag draped in place, a piano at one side of the platform and the speakers' table at the other. The small fry would meanwhile have gathered along the railroad line, each trying to be the first to spot the puff of the engine.



The train usually arrived at about noon. While the citizenry gaped and applauded, the talent would grandly disembark and set out for the hotel, led by a welcoming committee composed of leading citizens. Then a few hours later as evening approached, the town band would start to play, the people would gather, and with the mayor and other city officials and the performers in the van, everyone would parade to the big brown tent.

The superintendent of schools was usually the master of ceremonies, and he would get things started by introducing every last civic leader who had anything whatever to do with making it all possible. Finally the show itself would get under way.

The first act might well be a troupe called the Floyds of Boston, with a program of mind reading, magic, and musical interludes. Perhaps there would follow the Indian princess Watahwaso singing tribal songs; Little Alice Schrode, the child elocutionist and whistler; Professor Pamahasika and his trained dogs, cats, and monkeys; a singing group called Dunbar's Original White Hussars; or David Roth, the Man Who Remembers Everything. There was always at least one lecturer, and though the talks might get into such controversial areas as free schoolbooks and women's suffrage, there were no catcalls and no members of the audience rose to take issue with the speaker, whatever their private thoughts.

If the town was particularly fortunate there would appear during the week a large-featured, sweet-spirited man with a commanding platform manner and a speaking voice such as the Nation had never known. William Jennings Bryan, known variously as The Silver-Tongued Orator, The Great Commoner, The Flower of the Flock, and the Greatest of Them All, might favor the folks with "The Value of an Ideal," "The Price of a Soul," or his all-time favorite, "The Prince of Peace." Mr. Bryan held them enthralled. Later they might confess that they couldn't exactly remember what he said, but they agreed they would never forget the experience.

Inevitably the final night would arrive, the concluding lecturer make his last dramatic gesture. Next morning the tent would come down, the wagons would pull their load to the railroad siding, and the signs and pennants would droop listlessly. Where the tent had been the kids would kick the hot dust, looking for lost coins.

Then in the 1920s as radio became universal, the audiences began to dwindle. Rural depression made the guarantee harder to sustain. Finally, a little more than half a century after that first assembly in southwestern New York, the tents were rolled up and packed off forever. Only the summer colony—Chautauqua Institution—remained as a reminder of a movement that once was an educational powerhouse in small-town America.

—LESLIE RICH

Mr. Rich is a free-lance writer in the New York area.

Drawing Power

The decades following the Civil War were marked by a spurt of innovation in the United States, and noteworthily in developments having to do with education.

The American kindergarten came into being, normal schools blossomed, the high school began to become universal and standardized, such new institutions as the Land-Grant college made postsecondary training available to rich and poor alike, coeducation became the norm.

And there was the emergence of that interesting contribution to informal education, the cartoon.

Like our education system itself, the cartoon had its roots abroad but soon acquired a distinctively American character. And as it did so, it developed in three somewhat different directions.

There was first of all, beginning in the 1800s, the cartoon as an editorial comment on newsworthy events. Increasingly, as the years went by, those events had to do with education. In 1925, for example, the newspapers were filled with articles about the trial of a high school teacher named Scopes who was convicted of breaking a Tennessee law that in effect prohibited classroom discussion of Darwin's theory of evolution. That theory, many people declared, advanced the clearly insulting proposition that man was descended from monkeys. In the view of the editorial cartoonist for the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, it was the monkeys that were insulted.

Another major news event of 1925 was a U.S. Supreme Court decision overturning an Oregon law passed three years earlier that in effect abolished nonpublic schools (which was to say, those operated by the Catholic church) in that State. The court found this law to be clearly unconstitutional, and the Newark *News* felt that the State deserved a spanking for suggesting it in the first place.

Forty years later the big news in education was the impact of the postwar "baby boom," resulting in overcrowded classrooms and harrassed teachers, a situation neatly summed up by Herblock in the Washington *Post*.

About a decade after cartoons had become established on the editorial pages of newspapers they began to be featured in the early humor magazines. Though often topical, the basic objective of the magazine cartoon was to be entertaining. Thus *Puck*, the pioneer of such American periodicals, in 1883 satirically commented on the dime novel—considered at the time to rank with slang and pool halls in corruptiveness—and in 1890 suggested how a new teacher might advisedly approach the problem of maintaining discipline.

The magazine cartoon in perhaps its most elementary form—essentially a drawing more or less illustrating a printed joke—was customarily found in the college humor magazines of the 1920s. At the other end of the scale were (and still are) the sophisticated cartoons developed by the *New Yorker* and typified by a droll 1954 insight into the advantages of exposure to a course in art appreciation. And somewhere in between were the down-home cartoons in such mass-circulation publications as *Liberty*, a favorite of the 1930s being one dealing with the adventures of a tad named "Hardtack."

From the third line along which cartoons developed, starting in about 1895, came the so-called "comic strip." While this form of the cartoon has seemed more often devoted to mayhem than to merriment, many examples of the genre justify the name. Thus in "Miss Peach" an incisive and witty comment on the difference between studying and learning, and in "Peanuts" a wonderfully cynical definition that Charlie Brown and everyone else might well ponder.

In any case, this is more or less how education and cartoons have grown up together during the past century or so.

—FLORENCE H. SELDEN

Mrs. Selden is a Washington-based freelance writer.

TOWARD "A LEARNING SOCIETY"

BY STANLEY ELAM

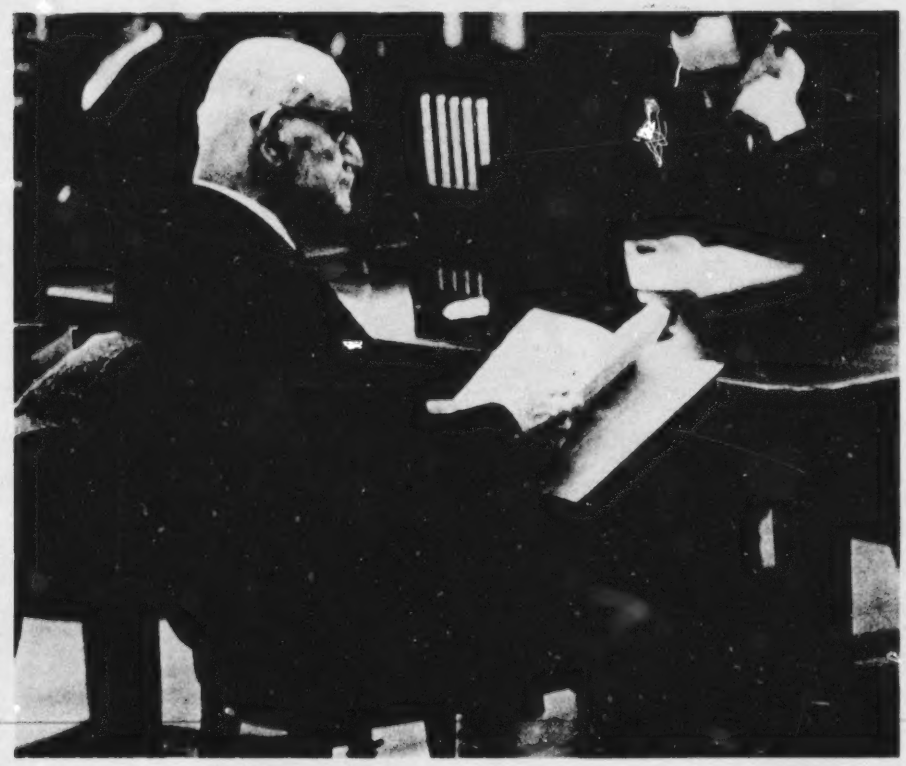
o concept governing man's relations with man is more heady and beguiling than the one asserted early in the Declaration of Independence as self-evident: that all men are created equal. On this glittering generality successive generations have striven to build a system that will give everyone an equal chance. But there are questions: If everyone is born equal, should not the governance system remain aloof? Or, on the proposition that life itself produces inequalities, should it not devise rules and procedures for maintaining the balance?

The author of that provocative phrase in the Declaration was throughout his life an education zealot. He said: "Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day." He said: "Any nation that expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, expects what never was and never will be." And only three years after writing the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson and his friend George Wythe prepared for the consideration of the Virginia legislature "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge." It was intended to make universal education possible at public expense. Each free child (i.e., each white child) would attend school for at least three years without charge. There was also to be a secondary and higher education system operated at State expense, with free tuition for the best scholars (boys only) of poor parents, though the less gifted offspring of the poor would be rigorously winnowed out.

It is a measure of the evolution of our democratic values that Jefferson's plan for education in Virginia is now considered supremely elitist, whereas in his own time it was judged so excessively philanthropic and hopelessly naive that the legislature refused even to debate it. Note that Jefferson could call for "general enlightenment" but exclude girls, Indians, and slaves and see no inconsistency. Small wonder that we are still groping for an acceptable definition of universal education despite having debated the concept in philosophical, political, social, and economic terms ever since Jefferson wrote to a friend in 1786: "Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance, establish and improve the law for educating the common people."

Toward that end many writers and intellectuals at the turn of the 18th century offered ideas for a national system of education in the new Republic. A winning essayist in a competition sponsored by the American Philosophical Society (of which Jefferson was a chief officer) suggested schooling for all male

Mr. Elam is the editor of *Phi Delta Kappan*.

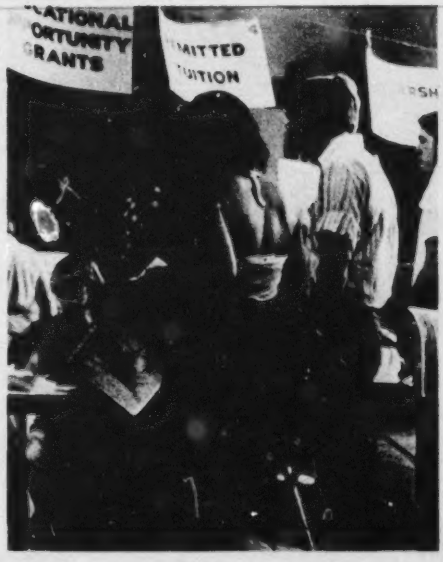


children from age five to 18, with every parent to see to it that his child either attend a classroom or receive a compensatory amount of instructional time at home. A number of writers called for a system supported, at least in part, from a fund to be raised by a tax on property.

No national system was ever adopted, of course, for a variety of complex reasons. First, by the end of the Colonial period the idea of local control was already firmly entrenched. In addition, traditions varied so greatly from New England to the Carolinas, and communications were so difficult, that while national uniformity rolled readily from the pens of the essayists, it was in hard reality virtually impossible of achievement. Moreover, there was no little opposition to the idea of universal education and the egalitarianism it implied. John Randolph proudly proclaimed, "I love liberty; I hate equality," and a subscriber to the Raleigh *Register* wrote, "I hope that you do not conceive it at all necessary that everybody should be able to read, write, and cipher." While it is probably accurate to say that most people in the early national period took a somewhat more liberal stance, the idea of providing education at public expense was something else again. Well into the 1800s in such bellwether cities as New York and Philadelphia, education was available to children of the poor only as a matter of private philanthropy, not public policy.

People reared on the pro-education aphorisms of Jefferson, James Madison, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin may in fact find it hard to appreciate how scanty formal education was in the early Republic. Not more than one school-age child in ten was enrolled in a State or community-supported school, because so few of them existed, and so far as higher education is concerned, in 1776 there were only about 3,000 living graduates of the nine American colleges, or one college graduate among each 1,000 people. It was not until 1870 that more than 50 percent of the adult population had graduated from any kind of secondary school, public or private. Despite the hopes and entreaties of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and other Founding Fathers, universal education remained little more than an ideal over the first half of the Nation's history.

Among the first to enunciate the concept of a "common" school for all, as an instrument for removing barriers between differing socioeconomic classes, was a Virginia Federalist named Charles Fenton Mercer. "The equality on which our (democratic) institutions are founded," he wrote in 1826, "cannot be too intimately interwoven in the habits of thinking among our youth; and it is obvious that it would be greatly promoted by their continuance together, for the longest possible period, in the same schools of juvenile instruction; to sit upon the same forms; engage in the same competitions; partake of the same recreations and amusements, and pursue the same studies, in connection with each other; under the same discipline, and in obedience to the same authority." In short, he saw a public school system as providing a means of perpetuating the American democratic structure by preventing differences in economic status from undermining it.



Mr. Mercer's notion of the positive, leveling role of the common school permeated the thinking of reformers for several decades. It was reflected in contemporary talk about developing a "new education." It was used as an argument against the expansion of private schools. Soon it was to become fundamental in "Americanizing" the gradually swelling tide of immigrants from countries lacking democratic traditions and thus subject, as many observers pointed out, to alien philosophies. As Horace Mann said in one of his reports as Secretary of Education in Massachusetts, "Everybody acknowledges the justness of the declaration that a foreign people, born and bred and dwarfed under the despotism of the Old World, cannot be transformed into the full stature of American citizens merely by a voyage across the Atlantic or by subscribing to the oath of naturalization." And more basically, universal education education for all at public expense was increasingly being seen as fundamental to the achievement of such new national purposes as increased productivity and fighting poverty and crime.

Thus emerged the great Common School Movement, sometimes called "Horace Mann's Crusade," the grand design of which was apparent in most States by the time of the Civil War. There were stringent laws against child labor. Compulsory school attendance laws were being passed. The school was longer – now a full ten months in many cities, not the three winter months of Colonial days. There were uniform textbooks, like the Noah Webster spellers, and there were more and more public secondary schools (although it took the Michigan Supreme Court's 1874 Kalamazoo decision to establish secondary education as a recognized part of the tax-supported system).

THOMAS JEFFERSON

By 1860 America was committed to four fundamental principles: There would be common schools available without cost to the young of the whole community. Such schools would provide students of varying backgrounds with a minimum common educational experience, including the intellectual and moral learning necessary to the exercise of responsible citizenship, while avoiding areas that might be destructive of a commitment to universality. The common school would be a community effort supported by taxes. And finally, the common schools would be controlled by the overall community through elected representatives rather than by sectarian, political, or economic groups.

What came after the Civil War can be called, in the jargon of our own time, implementation, or at least major progress toward that end. There were to be many reinterpretations of the basic principles. The effort to make education available on an equitable basis to all young people often faltered, and continues to do so, notably in the cases of ethnic and economic minorities – blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and the poor – and of females. On the basis of sheer numbers, however, the movement toward universal education has been triumphant and by traditional standards revolutionary.

As early as 1910 some 79 percent of the nation's school-age children – that is, boys and girls between the ages of five and 17 – were in fact in school. By 1930 the figure had risen to better than 90 percent, and it stands today at 96 percent. This upsurge was in part stimulated by various court decisions (e.g., Kalamazoo) and in part by increasingly generous State and local financial provisions. The clincher, however, came from the compulsory school attendance laws adopted over the six decades following the enactment of the first such law in Massachusetts in 1852.

The traditional view of creating an enlightened citizenry aside, two primary motives spurred the compulsory education movement. There was most obviously the humanitarian desire to keep children out of the mines and factories. Less often mentioned but present nonetheless was the feeling that the wilder impulses of the young had to be brought under control, and this custodial function was turned over to the schools.

The immediate result, in any case, was that the concept of universal education became at least in numerical terms a reality. For the long term, moreover, the compulsory attendance laws had an effect on equalizing educational opportunities that its proponents doubtless did not foresee. For the principle of these laws came to be seen as applying not just to youngsters who might otherwise be working in a sweat shop or a mill, but also to thousands upon thousands of boys and girls – the handicapped, for example – who in former times would have been rejected by the schools. As has been set forth in a number of Federal education

laws and either stated or implied in some of the most far-reaching court decisions of our time, compulsory attendance is now seen as being a two-way street, imposing an obligation not only on all youngsters to attend the schools but on the schools to educate all youngsters, in a fashion suitable to their individual needs.

America is, in short, on the verge of becoming truly a "learning society." Today at any one time nearly 59 million people — more than one-fourth of the entire population — are enrolled in formal education programs, and of course the number of learners would be far greater than that if it included those pursuing programs offered through educational television. More than 64 percent of the adult population (those 25 years of age or older) are high school graduates, compared with 49 percent ten years ago and 14 percent in 1910. Nearly 60 percent of the current high school graduates continue their education at a college or university, many of them under "open enrollment" plans that smooth the path toward higher learning for individuals never before considered "college material." Through such Federal programs as the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, the Nation has in fact gone a long way toward making a commitment to provide a college education or its equivalent to every qualified young person willing to make the necessary effort.

Moreover, graduation from a high school or college is no longer seen as the end of schooling. Adult education in many forms — public and private, formal and informal, for pleasure and for profit — nowadays touches the lives of nearly half the adult population at one time or another. At the other end of the scale, formal schooling is fast becoming standard in early childhood. Kindergartens have of course long since been common and are now available at public expense in more than half the States. But there is also a significant movement toward nursery schooling, with 13 States making children down to the age of three eligible for State or federally supported education programs. The annual cost of the array of educational opportunities available to Americans today is some $108 billion — nearly eight percent of the Gross National Product, the highest percentage among the developed nations.

It must be acknowledged that education still falls short of true universality, more particularly in effectiveness than in numbers. For a significant proportion of children, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, much of current educational practice just doesn't "take." The treatment of minority children, and of the handicapped, leaves much to be desired. Lack of money continues to deprive many promising young people of a chance to reach their full potential.

Still, universal education is far closer of achievement than it has ever been, anywhere in the world. And as Horace Mann and Charles Fenton Mercer had foreseen, it has made a major contribution — perhaps *the* major contribution — to keeping our democratic principles and institutions strong and vibrant. □

Henry Barnard's Crusade

As a boy living in Connecticut in the 1820s, Henry Barnard hated school. Perhaps that's why he grew up to become along with his friend and contemporary from Massachusetts, Horace Mann — one of the 19th century's leading champions of educational reform and in fact one of the most distinguished figures in the history of American education.

Henry Barnard wrote the first systematic treatise on school architecture, compiled the first comprehensive body of literature in America on the art of teaching, and helped to found the first colleges specifically established to train teachers. He successfully pressed for the first nationwide census on the condition of schooling. He argued so persuasively for the creation of a national education agency that when in 1867 Congress authorized what is now the United States Office of Education, he was the only candidate seriously considered to head it. The volume of his editorial work ultimately reached encyclopedic proportions, covering what would seem to have been every conceivable aspect of education not only in the United States but abroad as well, and as a vigorous and eloquent speaker, no group was too small to command his presence.

Henry Barnard in his later years

The "common" school he attended as a youth in Hartford was probably no worse than others in the fledgling Republic. Support for public education was at best meagre, primarily because most people felt that whatever tax money they were reluctantly persuaded to part with could be put to better use. Those determined to educate their children, and able to afford to do so, usually turned to private academies. And so the common school limped along, regarded with little more esteem than the town jail. The few textbooks made available to the scholars were old and tattered. Slates and chalk were regarded as barely tolerable frills. The rickety, ramshackle schoolhouses were freezingly cold in winter, sauna baths in summer. But the biggest problem was the teachers. Generally only a trifle more advanced than their students, they were judged chiefly by their ability to "keep school," which was taken to mean terrorizing high-spirited youngsters into obedient docility. Young Barnard found his classes "miserable" and the discipline "cruel." By the time he turned 12 he was so desperate that he and a classmate devised a plan to run away to sea.

Fortunately his well-to-do father, who had thought the public school would provide a leveling experience, overheard the plotters. Appalled by his son's unhappiness he shipped the boy off to a private academy, and from there young Barnard went on to Yale University, where he became a skilled debater and an avid student of literature. After graduating he took a job as teacher in a small school district in Pennsylvania and later recommended that every young man in search of a career try teaching, for a year, as "the best way to settle in his mind what he has learned." Young Barnard kept precisely to that schedule, leaving the classroom to spend the next several years — supported by his father and armed with letters of introduction from prominent New Englanders — traveling in the United States and Europe. In Washington he went to dinner at the White House and sat in the galleries of Congress as Daniel Webster and Henry Clay locked horns in their famous tariff debates. In England he spent a day in the country with Wordsworth. In

In 1867-68 the new United States Department of Education (Commissioner Barnard and his three assistants) rented rooms at a cost of $1,000 per year in this two-story building at the corner of 14th Street and New York Avenue in Washington, D.C.

Switzerland he visited the school where Johann Pestalozzi was liberating children from rote learning, and revolutionizing education in the process. After a swing through Germany and Italy he lived in Paris until his father's final illness brought him home.

Back in Hartford and now 26 years old, he settled down to study law and later to enter politics, Hartford voters having elected him in 1837 to the Connecticut General Assembly. If a single event could be said to have launched Mr. Barnard's career as an educational reformer — a career that ultimately spanned 60 years — it was his sponsorship of a bill calling for a State commission to inspect public school facilities and instructional programs, and to recommend improvements. While the commission would have no enforcement power, Mr. Barnard foresaw that it could focus public attention on an issue he considered fundamental to a democracy that had fought so long and hard for political freedom. In such a nation, he felt, consistency and good conscience required that education of the younger generation should not be reserved just to those whose families could afford the private academies but rather should be offered freely to all, in schools that maintained good standards and were easily accessible. "The Common school," he told his fellow legislators, "should no longer be regarded as common because it is cheap, inferior, and attended only by the poor. . . but common as the light and air are common because its blessings are open to all and enjoyed by all."

The bill was passed, the Connecticut Board of Commissioners for Common Schools was established, and Mr. Barnard accepted the pleas of his associates to leave his legislative post and become the commission's secretary — in effect, the State's chief school officer. He served four years. Then a shift in the political winds led a new legislature to abolish the board. "I failed," Mr. Barnard said, but in fact he had done much to help launch a public examination of schooling that in time was to impel American education into a new era.

By personal visit and extensive correspondence he had made an inventory of the State's school resources that was to become a model for similar assessments elsewhere. Among other things he found that the average enrollment in the State's 1,700 school districts was only 52 children, so few that only a severely limited curriculum was feasible. Such scanty enrollment also demonstrated that the lack of compulsory attendance laws meant that many children never saw a school. Those that did found themselves in classes in which everyone was lumped together, there being no grades arranged according to age or ability. The school "year" lasted for only a few weeks in summer and a few more in winter, the schedule depending not on the lessons to be covered but on how long funds held out to pay the teachers and buy wood for the stove. There being no statewide standard for textbooks, the schools settled for whatever they could get their hands on, the guiding principle being minimum cost. Not a single district had professionally trained teachers, and in fact no colleges in the State offered such training.

Appalled by what he was discovering, Mr. Barnard went public, speaking before scores of civic, parent, and education groups, addressing the State legislature, and turning out blizzards of articles, pamphlets, and treatises. Virtually alone he succeeded in arousing in Connecticut the beginnings of a drive to improve the schools comparable to that under way in Massachusetts under the

leadership of his friend Horace Mann, another legislator turned educational reformer. Nor was this the limit of his labors. He had also managed to convince President Martin Van Buren that the Federal Government should undertake a similar inventory throughout the Nation as part of the Census of 1840, and he had launched the *Connecticut Common School Journal*, the first such publication aimed at giving teachers useful information on the art of teaching and the precurser of an even more ambitious periodical he was to undertake later.

Then came the Connecticut legislature's decision to terminate the Common School Commission, a political move that had meanwhile had a counterpart in Massachusetts. There Horace Mann, the State's superintendent of schools, faced a proposal by the Massachusetts legislature to abolish both the superintendency and the State's only teacher training school. Aroused by this threat to Mann's program of establishing a system of public schools, staffed by trained teachers, Mr. Barnard appeared before the State legislature and delivered a ringing endorsement of his friend's efforts. The proposal was soon dropped. Not so successful in his own behalf, Mr. Barnard spent the year after his dismissal inspecting schools in other parts of the Nation before re-entering the fray, as State superintendent of schools first in Rhode Island and then in Connecticut.

By now he was also promoting, during repeated visits to Washington, D.C., a couple of other ideas. One was the establishment of a Federal agency for the advancement of education, and the other, linked with it, a national journal to keep educators informed about useful practice in this country and abroad. Failing to generate sufficient interest in these proposals, he resigned his Connecticut superintendency in 1855 to devote his time to carrying out at least one of them. The result was the *American Journal of Education*, a periodical that was to become a landmark in educational literature.

Using his own funds, ultimately mortgaging his property when other resources ran out, Mr. Barnard published the journal for nearly 30 years, initially as a quarterly, later as often as funds and material became available. In all he produced 31 volumes, each averaging about 800 pages and containing articles he himself wrote plus contributions from eminent educators both in the United States and Europe. A typical volume included entries covering such subjects as the teaching of history, geography, natural science, and geometry; the lyceum concept; "education of the factory population"; school discipline; the education philosophies of Erasmus, Pestalozzi, and Horace Mann; and current trends in education in England, Germany, Belgium, and Norway. Year in, year out, Mr. Barnard labored under his self-imposed editorial and financial burden. He also found time for certain other important enterprises. He wrote books on such subjects as Pestalozzi and [illegible] architecture and the kindergarten movement, for example, and served as chancellor of the University of Wisconsin from 1858 to 1860 and president of St. Johns College in Annapolis from 1866 to 1867, leaving the latter post when an old dream finally came true. That dream was the creation of a Federal agency assigned to work for the improvement of education not just in one section of the country but in all.

Henry Barnard as Commissioner

The name of this agency was the United States Department of Education, and it came about as a consequence of legislation introduced in Congress by a former college president who would one day become President of the United States, Representative James A. Garfield of Ohio. Such a bill had in fact been introduced on several previous occasions, only to be resoundingly turned down. Some had argued that such a Federal entity was at odds with Constitutional provisions limiting responsibility for education to the States. Others had objected to whatever costs might be involved. But perhaps a more pervasive impediment had been a persistent indifference toward education itself. With the end of the Civil War, however, the Nation seemed determined to take a tug in its belt and set out in new directions, and one of the beneficiaries was Congressman Garfield's proposal. Handily passing both Houses, the measure was signed into law by President Andrew Johnson on March 2, 1867. One week later President Johnson sent to the Senate for confirmation as the first U.S. Commissioner of Education the name of Henry Barnard.

The Department's function was to consist of "collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the United States and Territories" (the inventory idea that Mr. Barnard had initiated in Connecticut) and of "diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." For these purposes the new agency had an annual budget of $13,000 and a staff consisting of Commissioner Barnard and three clerks. Today – renamed, its missions greatly broadened, and long since placed in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare – the Office of Education has an annual budget of some $6 billion and its 2,800-person staff administers more than 100 programs offering support to virtually every level and aspect of education.

Mr. Barnard served as Commissioner for three years. Ill and at odds with the Congress, he resigned in 1870 to return to Hartford to edit his beloved journal and serve as *eminence grise* to the now vigorous school reform movement.

Upon his death 30 years later at age 89, a colleague observed:

> *No one can ever write about American or European educational affairs from 1830 to 1875 without drawing most of his information and inspiration from the writing of Henry Barnard. He had all the instincts of the scientist, the patience of a historian, the poise of a statesman, and the zeal of a reformer.*

Mr. Barnard himself had summed up his life work in a dozen words. "Schools," he had said, "should be good enough for the best and cheap enough for the poorest." Along with Horace Mann, he had made a notable contribution to the achievement of that goal.

—STORY MOOREFIELD

OE's Office of Public Affairs Staff

Kalamazoo and

It would be difficult to think of a more characteristic local institution in the United States—a greater source of community identification and pride—than our public high schools. So characteristic, in fact, that the 19 million young people currently attending them doubtless assume that the concept of providing secondary education at public expense is as firmly fixed in American tradition as Bunker Hill and Valley Forge.

Not so. It was many decades after the Revolution before public high schools began to be established, and as recently as 1873 opposition to them was vigorous. It was in that year that three property owners in the village of Kalamazoo, Michigan, challenged the notion of the publicly supported high school in a lawsuit whose outcome was to play an important role in the emergence of the 26,000 or so such schools in existence today. If parents wanted their children to prepare for college and learn foreign languages, these property owners held, they should foot the bill themselves rather than dip into the public treasury to pay for what was essentially a frill anyway. As they pointed out, a "common school" (which is to say elementary) education had been good enough to get one of their number elected to the United States Senate.

The high school they were belatedly complaining about had been set up 15 years earlier on the third floor of a new building erected to serve the three-district "common" school of Kalamazoo. In establishing it the townspeople had jumped the gun a bit, acting on the assumption that a law being considered by the State legislature would be passed, which in fact it was the following year. Under this law a school district having more than 200 school-age children was authorized to elect a school board, which in turn was empowered to establish grade levels to be covered, employ teachers, make rules, and—if the voters of the district wished—establish a high school to be supported by local taxes.

There was some grumbling over the increased tax burden that resulted, but that was as far as protests went until January of 1873. Then the three prominent citizens of Kalamazoo filed a suit to restrain the school board from using tax funds to support the high school or pay its principal, and to stop the township treasurer from collecting that portion of the school tax allocated for these purposes. In establishing the school, they argued, the board had technically violated the 1859 State law by failing to put the question to the voters in an election.

Many observers seem to have assumed

KALAMAZOO HIGH SCHOOL

High School Too

that this was a "friendly" suit, brought to clarify an ambiguous legal situation, and in dismissing it 13 months later Circuit Judge Charles E. Brown remarked that "as the real purpose of the suit is to establish the legal status of our public schools, costs will be awarded to neither party." It was nevertheless to become clear that the chief complainant – taking a view against free secondary education that was by no means uncommon in the United States at the time – had something considerably more (or considerably less) than friendliness in mind.

That would be Charles E. Stuart, who was to give his name to a case officially recorded as *Charles E. Stuart and others* v. *School District No. 1 of the Village of Kalamazoo and others*. The complaining "others" were Theodore P. Sheldon and Henry Brees, who, like Stuart, were holders of substantial amounts of property in Kalamazoo and thus substantial taxpayers. The defending "others" were the members of the school board and the township treasurer. Mr. Stuart, a rural New Yorker who had moved to Michigan soon after being admitted to the bar of the Empire State, had settled in Kalamazoo in 1835. Five years later he was sent to the State legislature on the Democratic ticket, and in 1846 he was elected to Congress. In 1852 the Michigan legislature elevated him to the United States Senate (the constitutional method of choosing Senators until the Seventeenth Amendment was ratified in 1913). He quickly established himself as an intimate of the most prominent statesmen of the day and was chairman of the Democratic convention that nominated his friend Stephen A. Douglas to run against Lincoln. The next Michigan legislature had a Republican majority and Democrat Stuart was not returned. Retired from the national political scene, he continued to be a local figure of prestige and power.

As such his views on just about any subject were much sought after, but he seems to have made no public references to education prior to the filing of his suit. There was thus nothing to suggest to Judge Brown (or to the Michigan Supreme Court when it reviewed the decision) that anything other than a legal clarification was

CHARLES E. STUART

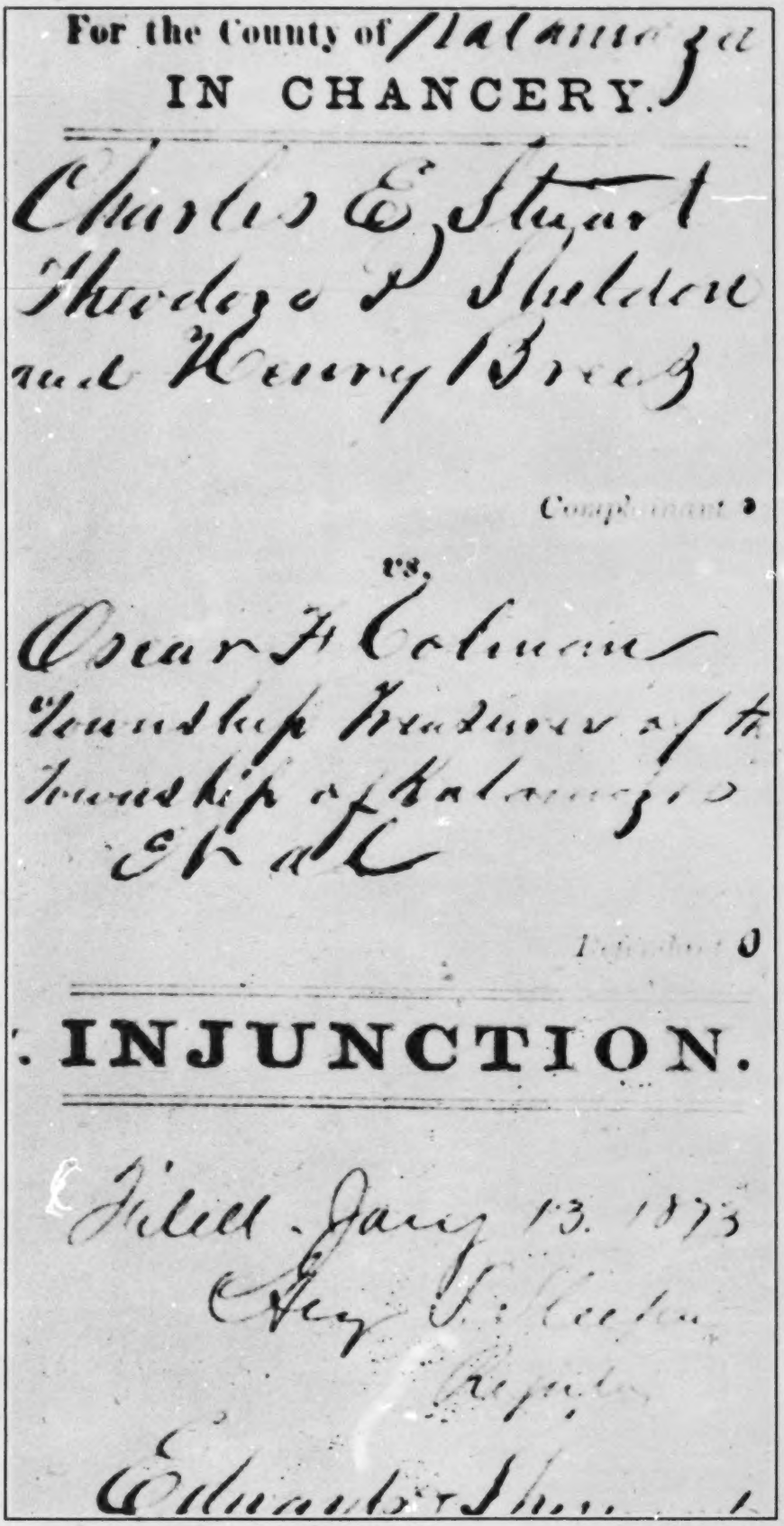
involved. In 1880 however – six years after the issue was theoretically settled – Senator Stuart told a Kalamazoo school board meeting (called to consider enlarging the high school) that he had been brooding on the question of public support of high schools for the past 15 years, that his views had not changed, and that no community could "continue to exist" under such a burden of taxes as had been levied on the citizens of Kalamazoo. He was in favor of "giving every child a good school education," he said, but he wanted to "stop right there." A common school education is all the State has a right to support with tax moneys, and that was all that was needed "to make a Congressman or President of the United States." (Stuart's own formal education had ended with common school; after working on his father's New York farm he had been apprenticed to a lawyer and "read his law" that way. So had Lincoln.)

Senator Stuart's viewpoints were by no means uncommon at the time, and he was not alone in taking his case to court. Similar suits were filed in a number of other States, with similarly unsuccessful results, and in fact one such case had been heard in Pennsylvania as early as 1851. As with *Kalamazoo*, these cases were appealed to the Supreme Courts of the States involved, but it was *Kalamazoo* that became the controlling landmark – perhaps because of the preeminence of the jurist who wrote the unanimous decision of the Michigan State Supreme Court in upholding the Kalamazoo board's right to maintain its public high school.

The reputation of Associate Justice Thomas M. Cooley transcended his position on the high court bench of a new Midwestern State. His writings in various fields of the law had given him international prominence. A monumental work on *Constitutional Limitations* had appeared five years before *Kalamazoo*, and is still cited in judicial decisions at all levels of American jurisprudence. It is therefore possible that the opinion under the attribution "Cooley, J." carried more weight with Illinois and Ohio judges than perhaps equally well reasoned opinions bearing the names of less celebrated jurists in Pennsylvania or New Jersey.

The *Kalamazoo* complainants were arguing, Justice Cooley wrote, "that there is no authority in this State to make the high schools free by taxation levied on the people at large. The argument is that while there may be no constitutional provision expressly prohibiting such taxation, [we are asked] to regard the instruction in the classics and in living modern language in these schools as in the nature not of practical and therefore necessary instruction for the benefit of the people at large, but rather as accomplishments of the few,

THOMAS M. COOLEY



For the County of Kalamazoo

IN CHANCERY.

Charles E. Stuart
Theodore D. Sheldon
and Henry Breed

Complainants

vs.

Oscar F. Coleman
Township Treasurer of the
Township of Kalamazoo
et al

Defendants

INJUNCTION.

Filed Jany 13. 1873
Chas. [illegible]
Clerk

Edmunds & Sher[illegible]

to be sought after in the main by those best able to pay for them, and to be paid for by those who seek them, and not by general tax."

Justice Cooley said he had to "confess to no little surprise" at the proposal of such a doctrine, as "against the right of the State to furnish a liberal education to the youth of the State in schools brought within reach of all classes." Education, "not merely in the rudiments, but in an enlarged sense" was, he thought, an important practical advantage to be supplied to all, not merely to "those whose accumulated wealth enabled them to pay for it."

The analysis that followed carefully reviewed the legal precedents for this position, beginning with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which required that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Justice Cooley drew particular attention to the principle involved in an 1827 Michigan law calling for "the establishment of common schools" after the fashion of "laws which from a very early period had been in existence in Massachusetts. . . ." The complainants, he said, had no grounds for asserting that "common schools" could offer only elementary instruction and lacked authority to support a "higher grade of learning." Summing up, Justice Cooley held that the record "clearly and conclusively" demonstrated that it had been a "general State policy since 1817 to bring within reach of all children, free education including the elements of classical education."

After 1874, courts of other States confronting challenges to public high schools invariably turned to *Kalamazoo*. It is incidentally worth noting that in the 15 years following the Cooley decision, the number of high schools in Michigan increased from 107 to 278, with a similar growth in the States nearby.

In time, *Stuart* v. *Kalamazoo* came to affect more than high schools, heartening and reinforcing proponents of such other unorthodox variations on public education as kindergartens, vocational training, community colleges, technical institutes, and special education for the handicapped and the gifted. These efforts to make learning more widely available (Cooley on *Kalamazoo* may be understood to have said) are, like high schools, indispensable parts of a system of education envisioned by the Founding Fathers and entrenched in each of the 50 State constitutions.

—HARRY L. SELDEN
Program Manager,
OE's Division of State Assistance

EDUCATION'S EVOLVING ROLE

BY WENDELL PIERCE

Since Colonial days, three evolving forces in American life have been influenced, shaped, and in some instances determined by that process of transmitting knowledge, skills, and values known as education.

The first of these has been political, expressed primarily in the creation and preservation of new forms of governance.

The second has been economic, reflected in the Nation's steady growth and its transformation from a primarily agrarian to a predominantly industrial-technological economy.

The third force has been social, initially the blending of disparate elements into a more unified whole and more recently a striving to provide equal opportunities for all.

Woven throughout these three forces, an integral part of each, has been an idealistic and inspirational human quality epitomized by a passion for change, improvement, reform, and renewal.

The indispensable condition, the *sine qua non* of the American experience, has been the first of these forces—the political. Although important economic factors also were involved, it was basically certain deep philosophical and pragmatic differences between England and the American Colonies over the form and function of government that led to the upheaval of the American Revolution and the subsequent creation of an entirely new and unusually dynamic political structure. Similarly, from the beginning of American history, government has been the central force in developing an educational system, and education and politics have been inextricably linked. In the Middle and Southern Colonies, the establishment of education came about when the governing bodies gave permission to various religious groups to establish schools or granted educational charters to businessmen or landowners. In the New England Colonies, the governing bodies used the authority they had received from the crown and parliament themselves to establish, support, and administer schools and colleges. Thus colonists setting out to found a new town in Massachusetts were required to reserve one building lot for the support of education.

It is interesting to note that the legislature of the Massachusetts Bay Colony chartered the first college in Colonial America in 1636 (Harvard), that three years later the first public school supported by direct taxation was established, and that three years after that the first locally elected school board was formed. Thus, more than 100 years before the American Revolution, were created the basic models for the governance of American education. Two principles had emerged: educational institutions derive their authority to operate from government sanction, and local schools should have some degree of local control. The broad application of those principles, however, was to come about only with the gradual evolution of the Nation itself.

While the Declaration of Independence in 1776 provided a stirring intellectual rationale for what was yet to be, it was the Constitutional Convention 11 years later that produced the cornerstone upon which a nation could be built. When the Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia during that hot summer of 1787 to design a new form of government, schools and colleges were but two of many educational institutions. The family, the farm, the shop, and the churches were of equal if not greater importance.

Few conceived that the aim of formal education should be to give all children an opportunity to develop to their full potential. Common schools for youngsters of differing religions and backgrounds were rare, and the children of the poor usually received no schooling at all. When the Constitution went into effect in 1789, American education served for the most part to maintain the kind of class distinctions characteristic of Europe at that time. Formal educational endeavors were not considered of sufficient national bearing to warrant inclusion among the basic laws establishing the new Federal republic. Instead, education was one of the responsibilities reserved, under the Bill of Rights, to the individual former Colonies that collectively had become the United States of America. Events were in fact to render education the single most important prerogative of the Colonial legislatures that evolved into the governing bodies of the quasi-independent States of the new Federal union.

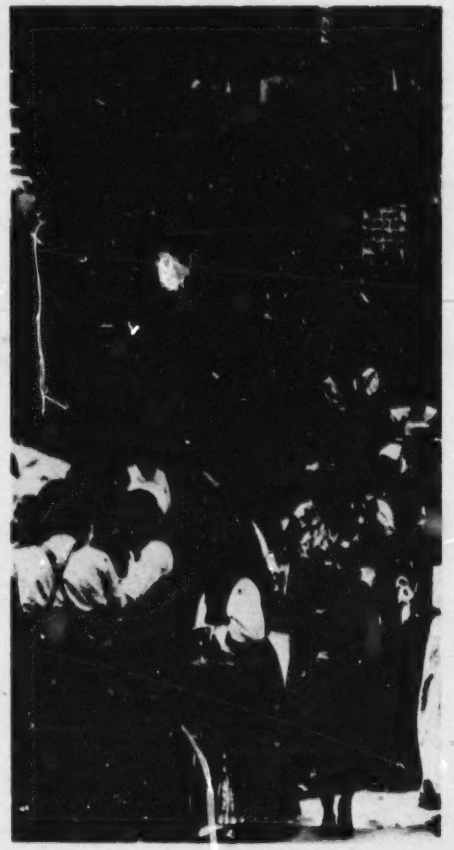
Very soon after ratification of the Constitution it became apparent that the new form of government required a new view of education. A government of the people, deriving its powers from the consent of the governed, required an educated populace. President George Washington recognized this proposition in his Farewell Address. "It is essential that public opinion should be enlightened," he said on that occasion, and he went on to urge the people to promote "institutions

Dr. Pierce is Executive Director of the Education Commission of the States.

for the general diffusion of knowledge." Similarly, Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, said that "any nation that expects to be ignorant and free. . .expects what never was and never will be"; and James Madison, a prime mover in the development of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, declared that "knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives."

In any case, under the newly developed Federal system of "shared power," responsibility for providing the means by which the people could arm themselves for popular government was retained by the several States. The States thereby found themselves held accountable for the success or failure of popular government itself, both within their own borders and throughout the young republic. Their deliberate but successful response to this challenge was to become the signal feature of American federalism.

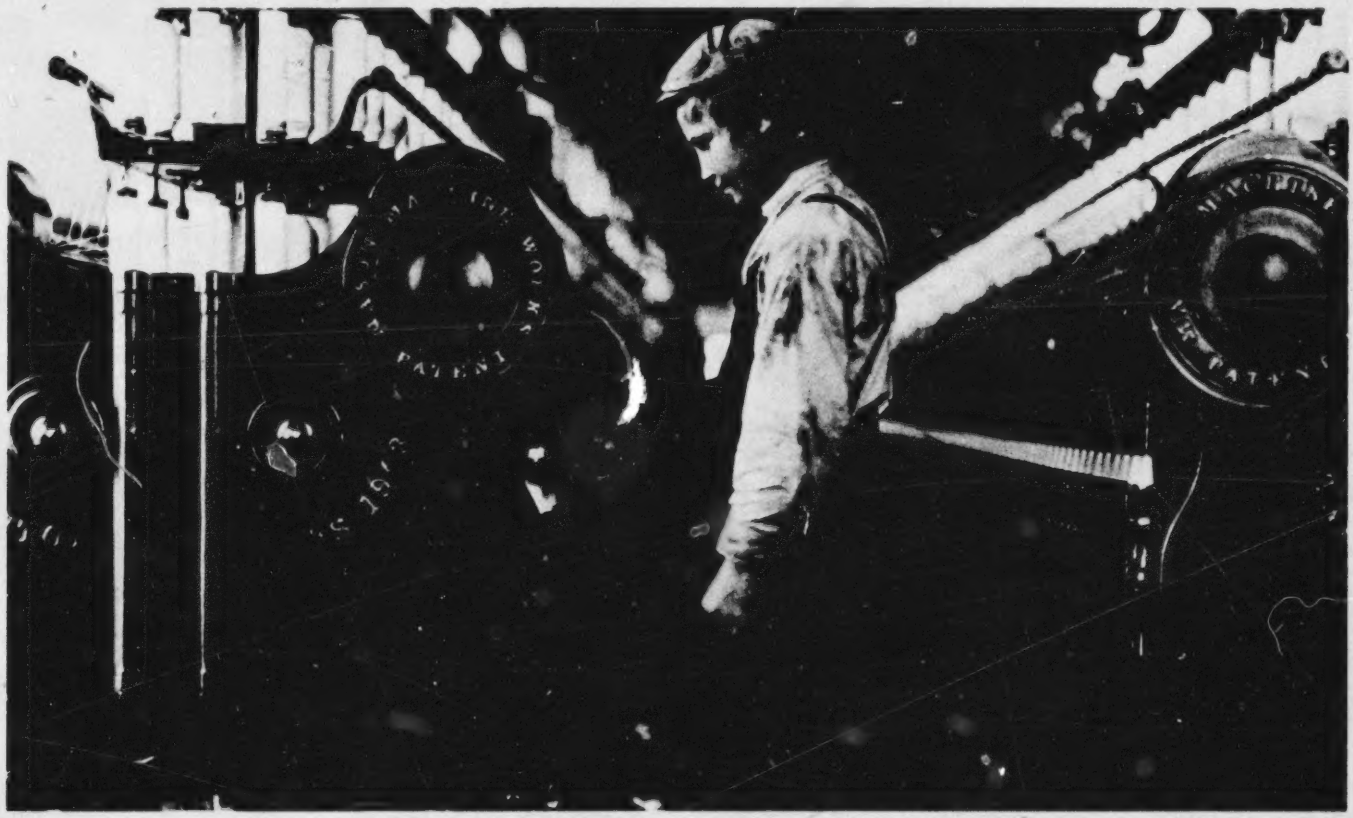
By 1827—38 years after the founding of the new Republic—all of the original 13 States and all but two of the 11 that had since joined the union had made some provision for public or popular education, either through their State constitutions or by legislation. The Indiana constitution of 1816, for example, stated: "Knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community being essential to the preservation of a free government. . .it shall be the duty of the general assembly. . .to provide by law for a system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."



Newcomers—to America and the schools.

Thus was developed during the early and middle years of the 19th century the structure and substance of a completely new kind of school system, created and sustained by State governments. Given the latter circumstance, it was natural that the impetus, both philosophical and practical, should come not from professional educators but from persons active in the political arena. It was the politicians who took the lead in institutionalizing the educational component essential to the success of the new Constitution. The philosophical foundations had been provided earlier by such national statesmen as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Benjamin Franklin. The practical process of implementation was led by State legislators, notably Henry Barnard of Connecticut and Horace Mann of Massachusetts.

Jefferson and Madison, although agreeing on the need for some kind of basic education for all, were from a classical tradition that considered Latin and Greek



Before child labor laws were enacted, youngsters were as apt to be spending as much time in the factories as in the schools.

as the cornerstones of Western civilization. It was Franklin who provided the motivating principles for a more utilitarian approach. In his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," he recommended three innovations: First, emphasis on English and modern languages; second, emphasis on mathematics and science; and third, emphasis on experimentation and practical application. ("While they are reading natural histor," Franklin wrote, "might not a little gardening, grafting, inoculating, etc. be taught and practiced; and now and then excursions made to the neighboring plantations of the best farmers, their methods observed and reasoned upon for the information of youth?")

Whatever their differences of approach, however, Jefferson, Madison, and Franklin were agreed on the critical importance of an educated populace. And so, spurred by the principles enunciated by such revered leaders as these, the State legislatures set out to fulfill their education responsibilities. The Virginia Legislature, for example, finally enacted in 1796 a bill "for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" that Jefferson had introduced in 1779, although amendments giving great power to local communities served to block effective implementation until the passage of new legislation in 1829. In 1812, the New York Legislature created the first statewide public school organization in the young Nation, providing a State Department of Public Instruction headed by a State Superintendent of Schools. In the 1830s and 40s, two New England legislators—Henry Barnard and Horace Mann—played prominent roles in a sweeping reform movement that was to spread, State-by-State, across the Nation. Out of that movement came a concept of education that was not only to serve the overall needs of the society but to respond to such special circumstances as the onset of massive waves of immigrants and a shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy.

In 1837, Mann gave up the presidency of the Massachusetts Senate to become the first secretary of a new State board of education. As a 26-year-old member of the Connecticut Assembly, Barnard introduced "An Act for the Better Supervision of Common Schools," and upon its passage in 1838 he followed Mann's example and became the State's first Commissioner of Education. These two politicians-turned-educators personified the drive toward a uniquely American form of education—the character, financing, and control of which was to prove as revolutionary in its way as the Constitution it was created to preserve.

To support that Constitution by ensuring an educated electorate, the State legislatures were confronted by issues that remain familiar today: religion, finance, and governance. The adroit though usually slow and sometimes painful manner in which these issues were resolved during the first half of the 19th century largely determined education's role in the Republic's subsequent development.

Although silent as regards education the Federal Constitution did provide guidance on the religion issue. One of many experimental elements in that experimental document linked freedom of religion to the principle of separation of church and state. Neither the Federal nor State governments could interfere in religious affairs or provide public funds to support churches or church-related activities. Proponents of a universal system of public elementary schools took this thesis a step further by arguing that nonsectarianism would promote a greater sense of national unity, an important consideration in education for citizenship in a republic. While disputes over various forms of public aid to church-related education and over the role of religion in the school program and curriculum continue today, the original principle remains: Schools controlled by churches may not be supported by public funds. This proposition has not been taken as relieving the schools of all responsibility for imparting to their pupils some sense of ethics and morality. Rather, such instruction has increasingly become more generalized, oriented toward standards and aspirations of the society as a whole rather than to the tenets of a particular sect.

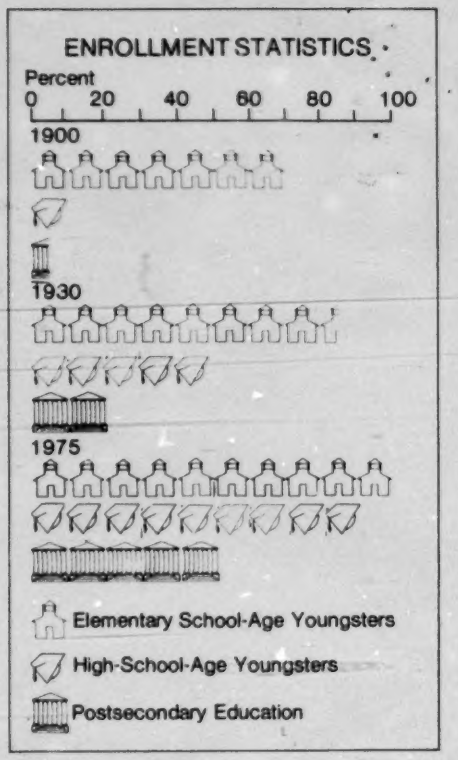
If schools were to be nonsectarian, how were they to be supported? Obviously, schools created by religious groups and financially dependent upon donations and the payment of tuition—as most were in Colonial America and during the early years of the Republic—were inherently exclusive and specifically unfair to the children of the poor. One step toward ameliorating this situation was the development of "free schools" where the children of what we now term low-income parents were supported by public funds and all others paid tuition. Advocates of equality argued that such an arrangement continued and in fact fostered class distinctions, and that these distinctions could be reduced only by financing the education of *all* children, egardless of parental means, through public funds raised through public taxation. Free public education limited to the children of poverty, they insisted, was simply an elitist extension of charity and in any event a

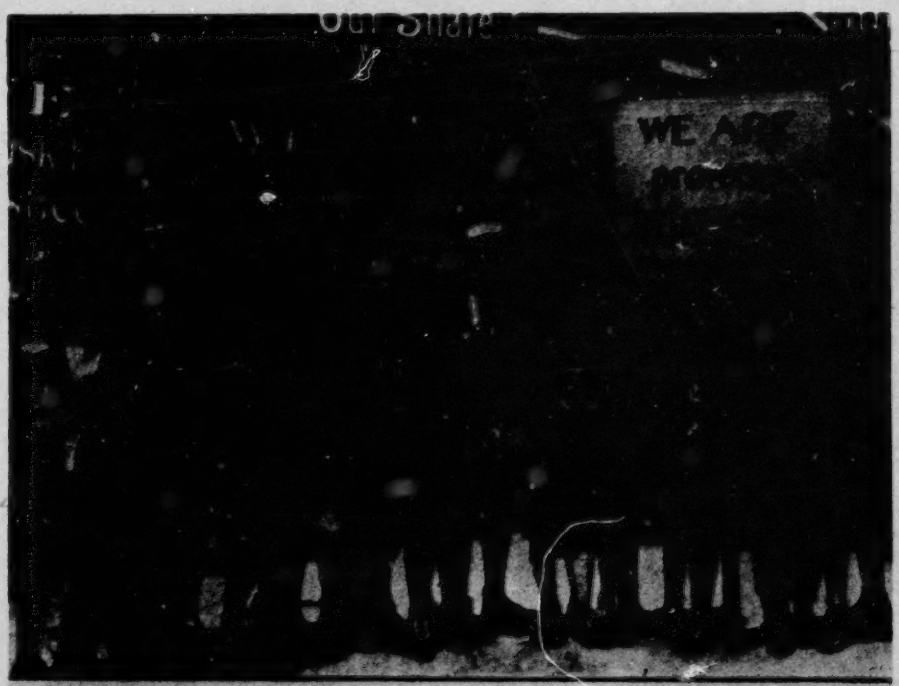
divisive force in what was supposed to be a free and equitable society. If Jefferson and Franklin and Madison had been correct in holding education to be essential in maintaining the Republic, they reasoned, schooling should be free to all and supported through public taxation. Even those taxpayers who had no children in the schools would benefit from the existence of an educated electorate. Some of the warmest and in any case most decisive advocates of these principles were to be found among the elected officials of the States, and by one State legislature after another the concept of free public education was spelled out in the State constitutions.

As for how the necessary money was to be raised, the early public schools were variously supported by liquor and amusement taxes, land grants, special taxes on parents of students, lotteries, and—stemming from a Massachusetts law of 1647—what became the characteristic method of support, the property tax. The latter was particularly pushed by school districts established in some of the bigger cities under State legislation enacted even before the States themselves began to support education. Moreover, when the States did begin to share the cost, local property taxes continued to be the chief source of school funds, as indeed they are today, amidst much controversy. Among the major elements of this controversy are first, the feeling that local tax rates have been pushed just about to the limit, and second, that wide variances in the wealth of local jurisdictions seriously undermine the principle of equal education opportunity. The school finance issue is, in short, thorny and complex, and as with so many other basic questions in education, political decision-making would appear to be central to its resolution.

In any case, the pattern having been set that the schools would be nonsectarian and publicly supported, the question remained of how they were to be governed. Obviously, if public education were left entirely to the pleasures of local communities, its scope and quality would vary enormously, as in fact was the case in the early years. Thus there evolved the concept of local control under State mandate, with the States, through their constitutions and by legislation, establishing minimum standards and requirements for public schooling. State school superintendents and State boards of education, elected by the people or appointed by the governor, were held responsible for monitoring those standards and requirements. Meanwhile, the day-to-day operation and management of local schools was left to locally appointed teachers, locally selected superintendents, and locally elected school boards. Usually the latter were made independent of other local officials or agencies—kept immune, as agents of the State, from the routine of local politics.

This uniquely American method of shared power in local-State school governance made it possible for American education to be responsive both to specific local needs and, through the broad State mandate, to the greater needs of the larger society. To make sure those needs were met, the States ultimately enacted laws requiring all communities to establish and maintain public schools. And then, led by Massachusetts in 1852, they enacted compulsory school attendance laws. And so by the middle of the 19th century the States had by and large fulfilled the need to provide enough education for enough people to be reasonably certain that there existed a reasonably well-educated electorate—though to be sure, members of racial minorities, females, and the handicapped continued to receive short shrift.

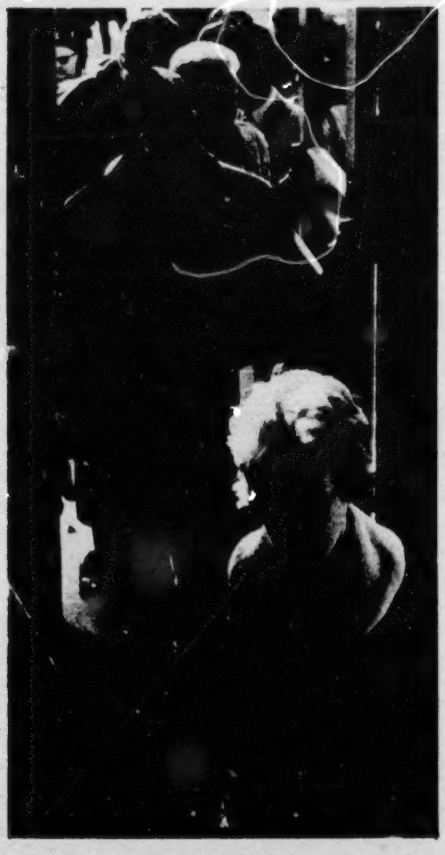




Young textile workers in Philadelphia in 1890 enlisted in a strike for free schooling.

Throughout, the primary motivating force and rationale for education had been education for citizenship. As Horace Mann wrote on his tenth annual report as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education: "Since the achievement of American independence, the universal and ever-repeated argument in favor of free schools has been that the general intelligence which they are capable of diffusing, and which can be imparted by no other human instrumentality, is indispensable to the continuance of a republican government."

Then in the middle of the 19th century, certain social and economic forces came to the fore to compel the educational system to expand its base and broaden its horizons, first in secondary schools and later in the colleges and universities. One of the most dramatic of these forces was an industrial revolution that shifted the American economy from an agricultural to an industrial base and displayed an almost insatiable appetite for the Nation's human, physical, and financial resources. Of the three, the human proved the most essential. A small, experimental democracy with a limited population composed primarily of farmers and traders had needed to provide the majority of its citizens with only enough education to enable them to read the Scriptures. Now the demand was for trained people ready to run the factories, build the railroads,



Separation of church and state was a theme of cartoonist Thomas Nast in the 1870s.

staff the businesses, start up the new industries, and handle the financial affairs of an expanding and increasingly complex economy. Meanwhile the Nation itself was expanding, both in geographic size and in population. Schooling no longer was simply a democratic ideal but a practical necessity.

And so, during the latter half of the 19th century, public education increasingly included the availability of free, public high schools in addition to the "common" schools mandated earlier by State law. In the 1870s a number of court cases, particularly the *Kalamazoo* decision of the Michigan Supreme Court, established the principle that the use of tax funds for educational purposes need not be limited to the elementary level. Thus the concept of secondary and postsecondary education as a tuition-paying proposition necessarily reserved to only a few gave way to the goal of providing and even requiring as much education as possible for all. State after State adopted compulsory school attendance laws covering youngsters to at least age 14 or 16.

The enrollment statistics tell the story of what happened thereafter. In 1900, some 70 percent of all children aged six to 13 were in elementary schools, while about ten percent of those 14-17 years of age were attending secondary schools. By 1930, nearly 85 percent of elementary school-age children were enrolled, and the figure for high school-age youngsters had climbed to 50 percent. The current figures are almost 100 percent of all children aged six-13 and more than 90 percent of those aged 14-17. Even more remarkable has been the growth of enrollment rates in postsecondary education. In 1900, less than five percent of all youth aged 18-21 were attending colleges or universities. By 1930, this proportion had grown to 20 percent. Today it exceeds 50 percent.

This record contribution to the Nation's welfare is no better illustrated than by its economic impact, both on the individual and in the aggregate. Most easily measured is the financial benefit of education to the individual. As analyses by the U.S. Census Bureau show, the more education people have the higher their lifetime earnings are likely to be. For example, the lifetime worth of a 22-year-old male shows the following average variance according to different educational backgrounds: Less than eight years of schooling – $159,000; elementary school graduate – $192,000; one to three years of high school – $216,000; high school graduate – $264,000; one to three years of college – $301,000; college graduate – $388,000; five years or more of college – $443,000. Obviously, one of education's primary contributions has been to provide a greater number of individuals with greater personal income and employment security.

Nor is such private return the only justification for public support of education endeavors that now directly involve nearly 30 percent of the population and consume more than $100 billion annually – almost eight percent of the Gross National Product. As the individual

Detail from the mural "Spirit of the Land Grant College" celebrating the landmark 1862 law for postsecondary education.

benefits, so does the Nation as a whole. Higher personal incomes provide a direct benefit to local, State, and Federal governments in the form of larger tax returns. Communities in which the median income is high enjoy higher average per capita retail sales. And, harking back to that early American ideal, statistics indicate that the more education a person has, the greater that person's interest in political affairs. The percent of those casting ballots in Presidential elections, for example, increases in direct proportion to the level of education attained.

Beyond these matters, a number of economists in recent years have concluded that education is a far more vital factor in stimulating economic growth than previously had been recognized. Traditionally it had been held that while education produces and reproduces a body of skilled manpower, it had little to do with increased productivity as such. Physical capital and natural resources—these, it was maintained, are the keys to economic development. Economists today respond that such a position ignores the force of human capital—that education not only provides trained workers but carries with it the potential for creating and developing new goods, new technologies, new services. No other kind of capital, they say, combines all these features. Thus a number of economists now believe that the growth in real per capita income in the United States since 1930 has been due far more to advances in knowledge and education than to private capital investments. Moreover, their projections for the future indicate that this effect will be even more powerful in the future.

In any case, it is self-evident that nations with high education attainment levels tend to have higher per capita incomes, regardless of the level of their natural resources, than nations with high levels of natural resources and low education attainment levels. Switzerland and Denmark, with few natural resources, are cases in point. So are Colombia and Brazil, which have high levels of natural resources but low education attainment levels and low per capita incomes. The United States, with high levels of both natural resources and education attainment, has the highest per capita income in the world. The American labor force possesses more educational capital per person than that of any other country, and the result is to be seen in the Nation's extraordinary economic development.

But the Nation's schools and colleges have been expected to make further contributions—to provide more than education for citizenship and education for economic growth. From the beginning they have also been called up to fulfill a variety of social as well as political and economic functions. It was the schools, more than any other institution in American society, that provided the cohesion necessary for the creation of a sense of national unity. It was the schools that bore the prime responsibility for "Americanizing" the millions upon millions of immigrants that poured into the Nation from the middle of the 19th century through the second decade of the 20th. And it has been the schools and colleges of the country that have been in the forefront of more contemporary efforts to provide equal opportunities for those who once had been systematically excluded—women, blacks and other minorities, the mentally or physically handicapped.

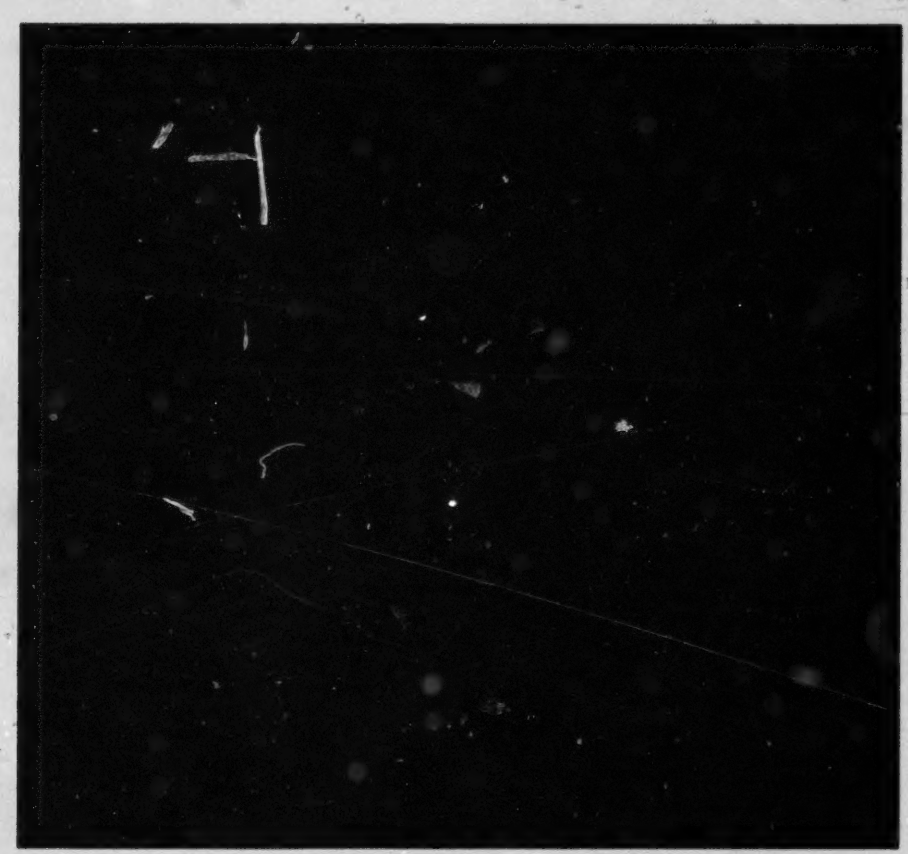
Americans have deliberately used their schools and colleges as agents of social change. They have asked more of their education institutions than any people in history. In so doing they have exhibited what has been termed a "consistent, often intense, and sometimes touching faith in the efficacy of popular education." Paradoxically, education is considered so essential a part of the national experience that it frequently leads the list of scapegoats when the Nation suffers a reversal. When the Soviet Union was the first to orbit a man-made satellite, it was American education that was held to have failed. The more furious the debate over desegregation, the more visibly the schools have occupied the center of the storm. Criticism of education is something of a national sport.

commerce, manufactures, and natural history; and to countenance and encourage the principles of humanity, industry, and morality.

§ 2. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide, by law, for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from Township Schools, to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.

§ 3. And for the promotion of such salutary ends, the money which shall be paid as an equivalent by persons exempt from military duty, except in times of war, shall be exclusively, and inviolably appropriated

Article IX, Sec. 2 of the 1816 Indiana Constitution put the Hoosier State among the first to provide a system of free education.



Classes were small in Colonial times—in families that could afford to hire a tutor.

Some of this criticism is justified, though it should be noted that there has always been a gap between expectation and performance. In any case, it is apparent that elaborate administrative bureaucracies, deemed essential to the management of mass education enterprises, frequently have proven to be barriers to social and economic mobility. More crucially, significant numbers of young people are not benefiting appropriately from their school experience, for reasons unrelated to native intelligence. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the achievement of young Americans who are poor or black, who live in the inner city or in rural communities or in the Southeast, lags behind national levels in a number of subjects.

And yet, as historian Henry Steele Commager has noted, "No other people ever demanded so much of education. . . .None other was ever served so well by its schools and educators."

There is a story that when an aging Benjamin Franklin was leaving one of the final sessions of the Constitutional Convention, a woman asked what kind of government the fledgling nation was to have. Franklin replied, "A republic, madam. If you can keep it." Thanks in no small part to the role of education, we've kept it. □

Horace Mann's Client

Our national pantheon is peopled by a few visionaries and many men and women of action, but it is the rare occupant who has been both a dreamer and a doer. Along with Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and a few others, Horace Mann belongs to this most exclusive group. His was the vision of a democracy created and constantly regenerated by an educated populace, and more than any other person, he worked to make this possible by laying the foundations of the American public school system.

To be sure, he had both predecessors and contemporaries in the new Republic who labored to bring learning to greater numbers of children. Mann, however, went far beyond them, his achievements outshining anything they had accomplished and casting a ray of light across the decades, even into our own times. Where others had hoped, planned, and even made modest beginnings, Mann brought dream and action together in a way that eventually enabled the children of an entire nation to go to school.

With the onset of the American Revolution Bicentennial, it is fitting to reconsider two elements of his work which remain particularly current today. One was his unflinching commitment to the ideal of equality of educational opportunity. The other was his belief in the power of the public school to nurture and shape a sound sense of personal and public virtue in succeeding generations of American citizens.

Born in 1796, the son of a Massachusetts yeoman farmer, the young Horace Mann gained what he could from the sparse formal training available to him in a nearby primitive schoolhouse. To this he added the wealth of less formal lessons to be learned by growing up in a New England town and on a family homestead first farmed by his grandfather in 1709. Motivated and intelligent, he graduated from Brown University and Judge Tapping Reeves' Litchfield Law School before embarking on a successful legal and political career. Upon his election to the Massachusetts General Court, he worked tirelessly to advance a variety of humanitarian causes including psychiatric treatment for the insane, the abolition of imprisonment for debtors, better prison conditions, and temperance laws to help curb what seemed to be a tide of alcoholism in the Commonwealth. Conceived with the highest of hopes and the best intentions, each of these efforts provided little in lasting social reform. Approaching the age of 40, Mann reluctantly acknowledged the limitations of these efforts and concluded that adult human attitudes and behaviors were stubbornly intransigent to change. The tragic death of his young wife further compounded his sense of futility. A grief-stricken widower in 1837, he turned his back on a highly successful political career (he had become president of the State Senate and seemed headed for the governorship) and embarked on an educational crusade for children. Thus Mann set a pattern for other educational reformers. As citizen, politician, and lawyer he came to his great work from outside the ranks of educators, generally cognizant of the relation between the greater social needs of the Nation and the tasks of its classroom. Believing he could mount a reform that would effectively end the need for further reforms, he set aside his law books and recorded in his private journal at the time, "Let the next generation, then, be my client."

Beginning with Jefferson's historic declaration that "all men are created equal," Mann translated this credo into a powerful kind of egalitarian social action. Through the spoken and written word (sometimes he penned as many as 30 letters a day, all handwritten with a quill) he managed to convince legislators, town officials, taxpayers, and parents—men and women in every social, economic, religious, and ethnic group—that a free and comprehensive education was the birthright of every American child. For us who now hold this proposition as a self-evident truth, it is difficult to comprehend the magnitude of such a revolutionary concept in his own day. For centuries, those ancient, medieval, and renaissance men and women who had thought about education held the circumscribed view of schooling as a privilege largely belonging to the well-born. Even in Colonial New England, where towns were required to support a schoolmaster, the youth were not requi to attend the school. Instead, parents merely were held responsible to see tha their children were given a rudimentar literary and religious training by whate means they chose. As a result, the exte and character of young people's educat essentially depended upon the advanta their parents were able and saw fit to p vide.

By comparison, Mann's conception was more radical and comprehensive. He envisioned a system of education in which the door of the American schoolhouse would be wide open and freely accessible to all, regardless of their creed, economic condition, or ethnic origin. In his words, such a system would countenance:

> *". . . no distinction of rich and poor, of bond and free, or between those, who, in the imperfect light of this world, are seeking, through different avenues, to reach the gate of heaven. Without money and without price, it throws open its doors, and spreads the table of its bounty, for all the children of the State."*

Until there was truly an equality of educational opportunity here in the United States, Mann believed that the promise of political equality implicit in the American Revolution would remain unfulfilled. If it were to be achieved, it would come not by storming a counterpart to the Bastille or some other symbol of oppression, but by helping millions of children move through the portals of the schoolhouse.

Many of his contemporaries, however, still held that middle class parents could and should pay for the education of their own children and that if free public schooling was to be offered at all, it should only be provided for the children of the poor. Holding this distinction to be discriminatory, Mann proposed a new public responsibility for providing schools in which all children, rich and poor, native born and immigrant, shared a common educational experience. For him, both the individual and the public interest could be served only when three elements were forged together in the creation of a new institution. Although there was little enthusiasm for the idea at the time, Mann believed that public *support* for education should be joined to public *control* of it. And in addition to public control and support, he believed in public or compulsory *attendance*. Only by bringing these three together could the people fashion institutions accountable to the common interest which would provide an equality of opportunity. As if he were anticipating and paraphrasing Lincoln, Mann advocated and worked to achieve a system of education which was of, by, and for the American people.

Less revolutionary but no less powerful was Mann's belief in what these schools should accomplish. Obviously he expected them to provide all children with a fund of knowledge and a sufficiency of literary and mathematical skills. Foreseeing that children might grow up technically literate while remaining uneducated in any deeper sense, however, he also saw a role for the schools in developing young people's moral character, rather than leaving this process to the vagaries of lessons learned at home and in the street. With the emergence of Jacksonian democracy, countless "ordinary" citizens now had access to positions previously monopolized by the rich and well-born. As a result, never before had there been such an imperative for training in citizenship and religious values. Mann also saw the necessity, however, of

responding to this imperative with some caution.

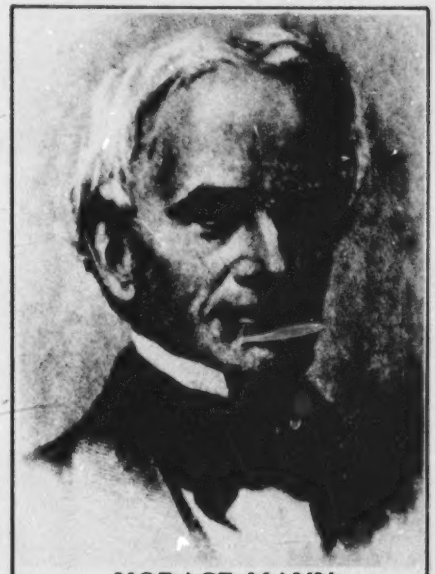
By the 1830s Massachusetts had ended its official sanction of an established religion and thus its formal support of Congregationalism. Fearing that this decision would produce a divisive denominational indoctrination which would make each classroom the scene of a vest pocket war between competing sects, Mann urged that the schools assume a more ecumenical role, providing moral training based upon those tenets of religion shared by all religious bodies.

These included the Ten Commandments, the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, and the virtue of brotherhood. Moreover, he believed that in the hands of skillful teachers, not only could these precepts be taught in such a way that children could understand right from wrong, but that the children would in turn translate them into habits of action which were motivated by a sense of stewardship, honesty, self-reliance, and a commitment to hard work and sacrifice. As David Riesman later described the phenomenon, facing a changing and less tradition-bound future, they were to become "inner-directed" men and women, guided by a moral gyroscope set in motion by their teachers. If some might object that the end result sounded too much like a middle-class Protestantism, it was the best the time had to offer and was in any case admirable in intention. It was open-ended, embraced human freedom and dignity, and carried with it a high sense of public calling.

At an unguarded moment, Mann reluctantly would concede that until recently, history had not been kind to democracies. From the Golden Age of Greece on, attempts at a more open society had failed as the newly liberated masses eventually rejected the demanding responsibilities of representative government and took refuge in demogogues and the totalitarian security they offered. Mann, however, did not accept this apparent weakness as either inevitable or mortal. Drawing upon the teachings of faculty psychology and phrenology, both proto-behavioral sciences of his day, he reasoned that an individual's evil propensities would wither if not reinforced by society, while the more positive faculties of the mind could be nurtured through education. Not that the process would be easy or automatic. Without positive moral instruction in the schools, patriotism could degenerate into self-serving politics, religion into a destructive sectarianism, and the democratic commonwealth into a rigid class society of haves and have nots. With a remarkable prophetic sense he wrote:

> *"If the spontaneous productions of the earth were sufficient for all, men might be honest in practice.... But as the population increases, and especially as artificial wants multiply, temptations increase and the guards and securities must increase also, or society will deteriorate."*

If, then, democracy was to become a viable and enduring way of life (a prospect doubted by the perceptive French observer of the American scene, Alexis de Tocqueville) then it was the task of the school teacher, supported by an enlightened public, to train children to be equal to their new rights and responsibilities.



HORACE MANN

Here, within a single institution, two historic ideas would come together. Where previous generations had been condemned to degrees of illiteracy, vice, and poverty according to the accident of birth, now all could look toward the day when every child could become literate, productive, and self-respecting. They would at the same time learn to be upright and respectful of their fellow citizens, with the major social burden of making them so shifted from the church and the family to the relatively untried vehicle of the public school. Horace Mann understood the dimensions of this burden and the risk involved but he was consummately confident that the school would be equal to its new challenge. As he described it, "... *the common* (public) *school is the greatest discovery ever made by man.*"

Subsequent events may have tempered such an expansive optimism. Although noble and dazzling in its conception, its birth, and its development, the public school has not become a social panacea. Painfully we have come to understand how deeply rooted and resistant to amelioration our social problems are. Segregated housing patterns, broken families, poverty spanning several generations, the persistence of racial discrimination, and the pernicious decay of some of our national ideals all have worked against the achievement of Mann's egalitarian goals. In fact, so powerful and pervasive have these counterforces become that they have even infected the schools themselves. Clearly the gulf between the real and ideal remains very much with us.

To their credit, the American people have refused to abandon Mann's ideals and succumb to a self-destructive cynicism. Although they have anguished over school busing, achievement tests, and heterogeneous grouping, they have been unwilling to let the schools be an instrument for reinforcing a class society. In the face of discouraging and critical reports on classroom achievements and mounting taxes to support the schools, they have shown little inclination to back away from their abiding faith in education. Expanding Mann's vision of equality even further, they have worked to open the doors of the schoolhouse to the physically impaired, the mentally retarded, and other handicapped children who seek to realize their American educational birthright.

Equal educational opportunity and a belief in the power of education to nurture children in moral and spiritual values are two great legacies we have derived from the work of Horace Mann. Were he alive today, he most likely would be gratified at our subsequent accomplishments while not being overwhelmed with the tasks yet to be done. His advice to us might be similar to that which he urged upon his co-workers. Great educational objectives, he felt, could be achieved only through sacrifice and heroic effort. Speaking at the commencement at Antioch College in 1859, Horace Mann admonished the new graduates to "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." Two months later he died. His great educational reforms had only begun, but he could be confident that his legatees would win other victories in the next century and beyond.

—FRANCIS KEPPEL
and JONATHAN MESSERLI

Respectively, Director, Aspen Institute Education program; and Dean, School of Education at Lincoln Center, Fordham University.

Learning by the Numbers

When the English pedagogue Joseph Lancaster emigrated to the United States in 1818, his arrival was heralded in school circles with a degree of fanfare normally reserved for visiting ministers of education. Preceding him were dazzling reports about the effectiveness – and even more impressive, the remarkably low cost – of his unique system of education.

It must be noted, though, that Mr. Lancaster's decision to come to America was not motivated solely by a benevolent determination to share his theories with others. Although England had warmly embraced his approach to schooling, Mr. Lancaster himself had fallen into considerable disfavor with his converts there because of his sometimes abrasive manner and his casual and often bizarre way of handling their funds. So in addition to spreading his particular gospel, he was seeking a more tranquil environment.

As for the educational theory he was promoting, some years earlier a Scottish clergyman and educator named Andrew Bell had devised a scheme of having older pupils—monitors—take responsibility for teaching what they had learned to younger pupils. Mr. Lancaster so admired this technique that he paid it the sincerest form of flattery by simply taking it over, adding various embellishments of his own. Thus began the "monitorial" approach to education—soon to become known as the Lancasterian system (to the understandable dismay of Mr. Bell!).

The concept of older students teaching younger students has a modern ring to it, of course, numerous contemporary educators having pointed to its effectiveness in stimulating the learning of tutors and tutees alike. Mr. Lancaster saw it not so much as a useful pedagogical device, however, but as a way of cutting costs. The monitors enabled his schools to get by with just one salaried person, the principal. This saving was a major consideration, for the pupils involved were the children of the poor. Since there were no free public schools at the time, whatever education such youngsters received was an exercise in charity.

The boys attending a Lancasterian school—typically numbering 300 or so but sometimes achieving up to 500—were divided into groups of ten, each presided over by a monitor who was responsible for his charges' general "cleanliness, order, and improvement." Other monitors—there were lots of them—had more specific assignments. There was an Absentee Monitor, whose job was to "superintend the Enquirees after the absentees," and an Inspection Monitor who checked "the improvement of the classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic." There were Teaching Monitors and Monitors in Charge of Distributing and Collecting Necessary Books and over them all a Monitor of Monitors. A stern and arrogant man himself, Mr. Lancaster at least implicitly encouraged those same qualities in the monitors, and the atmosphere was that of a Marine Corps bootcamp. Whatever the scholars did they did on the barked orders of whichever monitor was in charge of them at the time. Especially since the monitors were more or less on their own, the opportunities for applied dictatorship were almost limitless.

The business of the school was conducted in a single room the size of a gymnasium, with rows of backless wooden benches stretching from front to rear. During lectures the boys sat at assigned spots on these benches. Each spot bore a number (enabling the Absentee Monitor to do his job simply by checking those not obscured by boys) and this number became the student's identification. Names were never used, Mr. Lancaster having decided that referring to each scholar by number would save time. Small group instruction in the various elements of the curriculum – limited essentially to reading, spelling, the catechism, and arithmetic – was carried out by monitors who had progressed a step or two above the level of the boys they were teaching. The latter were grouped according to "displayed proficiency." In spelling, for example, there were groups for boys ready for only three-letter words, others for those who could handle four letters, and so on. Since the school contained only one room, the groups separated themselves as best they could, gathering into what looked like a number of football huddles.

The monitors provided an important contribution to Mr. Lancaster's relentless search for "efficiency," one of his favorite words. Money nevertheless remained a problem, particularly during the system's early years, when he had to get by with an income that came to only about seven shillings per student per year. Such a budget clearly did not permit such luxuries as textbooks for each child. Hence another Lancasterian innovation: He bought one textbook for a particular subject and had it transcribed on large pieces of pasteboard and hung on a wall. The boys progressed group at a time and card at a time, repeating the lessons in unison, and Mr. Lancaster insisted that they did better than if each had worked from his own book.

He also found a substitute for pens, paper, and ink for sessions on writing and printing. The students wrote in sand spread on wooden planks that had been painted black (to show through the sand). Mr. Lancaster noted in his *Improvements in Education* that "any white sand will do, but it must be *dry*. The boys print in the sand with their fingers; they all print at the command given by the monitor. A boy who knows how to print and distinguish some of his letters is placed by one who knows few or none, with a view to assist him."

The writing period dispensed with, the boys might then be regrouped at the drill-sergeant orders of the monitors to turn to arithmetic. Those whose "displayed proficiency" with numbers exceeded their grasp of letters might get permission to shift to a more advanced group. Mr. Lancaster said this kept the students from becoming "listless from plodding over the same ground."

In a school with so many students and only one adult to supervise them, and since even poor boys *will* be boys, there were bound to be problems of discipline. Mr. Lancaster said he didn't buy the traditional 19th-century notion that the only recourse for students who misbehaved was a beating. So he worked out an elaborate correctional system designed, he said, to make the punishment fit the crime. A boy who was repeatedly idle had a heavy wooden log hung around his neck, or had his legs shackled together until he became

so tired of walking that way that he promised to reform. One who insisted on speaking or singing when he was supposed to be silent was placed in a basket suspended from the ceiling, and the other students were encouraged to laugh at "the bird in the cage." Truants were manacled to their desks, and "incorrigible" boys might be tied up and left to spend the night alone in the school. It is possible that some of the boys would have settled for a beating, but Mr. Lancaster's code offered no options.

Such was the system that the United States had started importing from England in 1806. New York City was the site of the first Lancasterian schools, and others were soon established in Philadelphia and in Burlington, New Jersey. By the time their inventor arrived on the scene the movement seemed ready to sweep the Nation, having spread south to such cities as Baltimore and Washington, D.C., and as far west as Cincinnati and Detroit. In this heady atmosphere Mr. Lancaster accepted the post as head of the school in Philadelphia, designed as a model of the species and then enrolling 700 youngsters.

Before long, however, he began to generate criticism similar to that which had beset him in England. His problem is illustrated by one of his favorite pronouncements—that the poor were poor because they stupidly squandered whatever money they laid their hands on. This statement not only irritated the hard-up parents of his students but drew ridicule from his benefactors, for Mr. Lancaster was busy proving himself to be one of the champion squanderers extant. By now able to raise considerable amounts of money, through donations and from his lectures and writings, his extravagance and ostentation were said by one of his critics to surpass belief.

He maintained four carriages, and it was his practice when he went out for a drive in one to have another tag along behind so he could switch if the fancy struck him. Often these excursions would last two or three days, broken by stops at some of the more elegant restaurants along the route, where he would grandiosely pick up the tab for everyone present. His discomfiting generosity also extended to his students. He would order catered, expensive meals for a school's entire student body, and one outraged donor to his cause reported that it was not unusual for him to buy as many as 5,000 toys a month to pass out to students who won his approval. The results were first, bankruptcy, and then a debtor's prison. He spent the last penniless years of his life in New York City, where one night in 1838 he was run over by a horse and buggy and killed.

His system of education expired at roughly the same time. One by one the Lancasterian schools had been closing, both in England and in the United States, not because of the founder's peculiarities but because of the inherent weaknesses of the system itself. Its "efficiency" translated into a kind of mindless mechanization, as if human beings were not involved. Whatever motivation occurred was focused not on learning but on escaping punishment and winning rewards. Cheap though the instruction was, it was still no bargain. The monitors were able to lead other boys through rote memorization drills, but it was too much to expect them to teach; a child of six was not prepared to guide the learning processes of a baby of four. And despite Mr. Lancaster's largesse with toys, the students felt no commitment to the system and in fact found it terrifying.

Still, Mr. Lancaster made some not inconsiderable contributions. While the organization of his schools was unreasonably Spartan and impersonal, he nevertheless demonstrated that organization was in and of itself a good idea, and his practice of grouping students by a combination of age and ability was to become standard. Above all, he offered schooling to the poor at a time when they were otherwise denied it, and in doing so he planted the seed of the concept of education as a fundamental right. It seems more than coincidence that the Lancasterian system was succeeded by a system of public education for all.

—JUDITH SELDEN

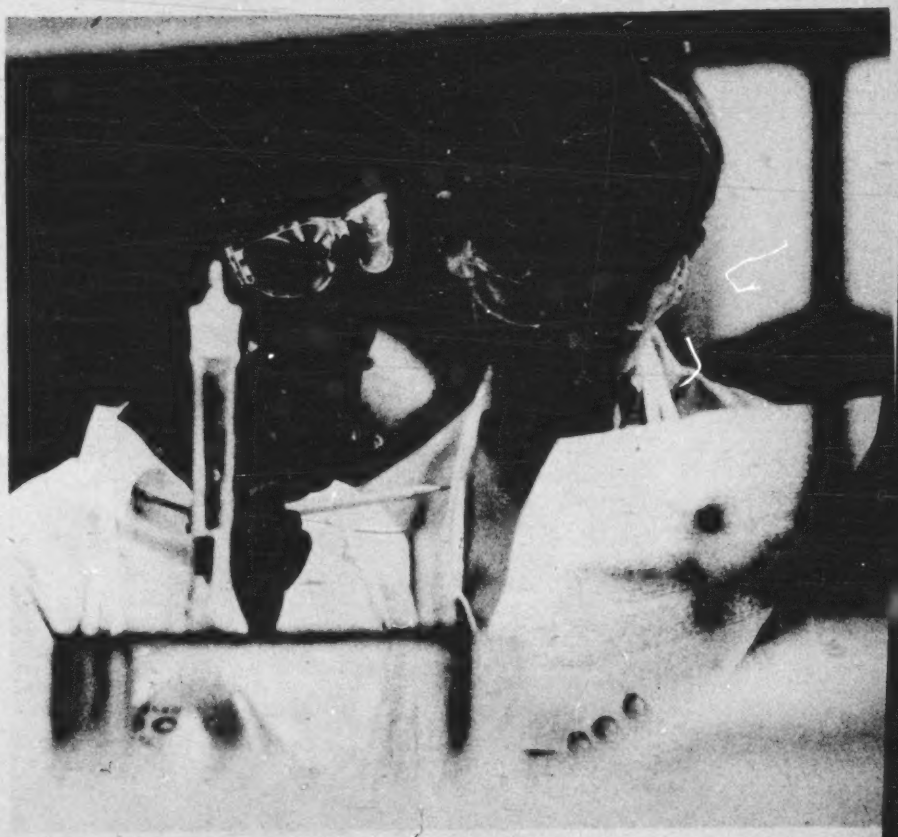
Ms. Selden is a junior high school English teacher in Weston, Massachusetts.

TOWARD EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

BY JAMES FARMER

The history of black education in America has at every stage reflected the condition of blacks in the Nation's society. At the same time it has influenced that condition—serving as a bellwether, a precursor of change.

Education of blacks is not a recent phenomenon, having in fact been relatively common in the New England and Middle Colonies, where slavery was comparatively mild. Indeed, the Puritan conscience as typified by the Colonial preacher Cotton Mather impelled that slaves be "instructed" so as to lead useful even though limited lives, and taught to read in order to absorb the Bible's lessons and save their "immortal souls." Humanitarian concepts, epitomized in the Quakers, stressed human rights and capacities long before a coordinated abolitionist movement emerged to require the educating of blacks as an obligation



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So in the period preceding the Revolution there were schools in the Northern Colonies providing rudimentary education for blacks, geared chiefly toward Bible reading. Often such school's were established with the aid of white philanthropy, but just as frequently the initiative came from free blacks and black churches and fraternal societies. Ultimately, many of those schools became part of the public school system. Even in the South in Colonial days there were some schools, largely religious, for blacks, thanks to a more tolerant attitude than was to prevail in the period just prior to the Civil War period when abolitionist sentiment saturated the Nation and slave revolts rocked

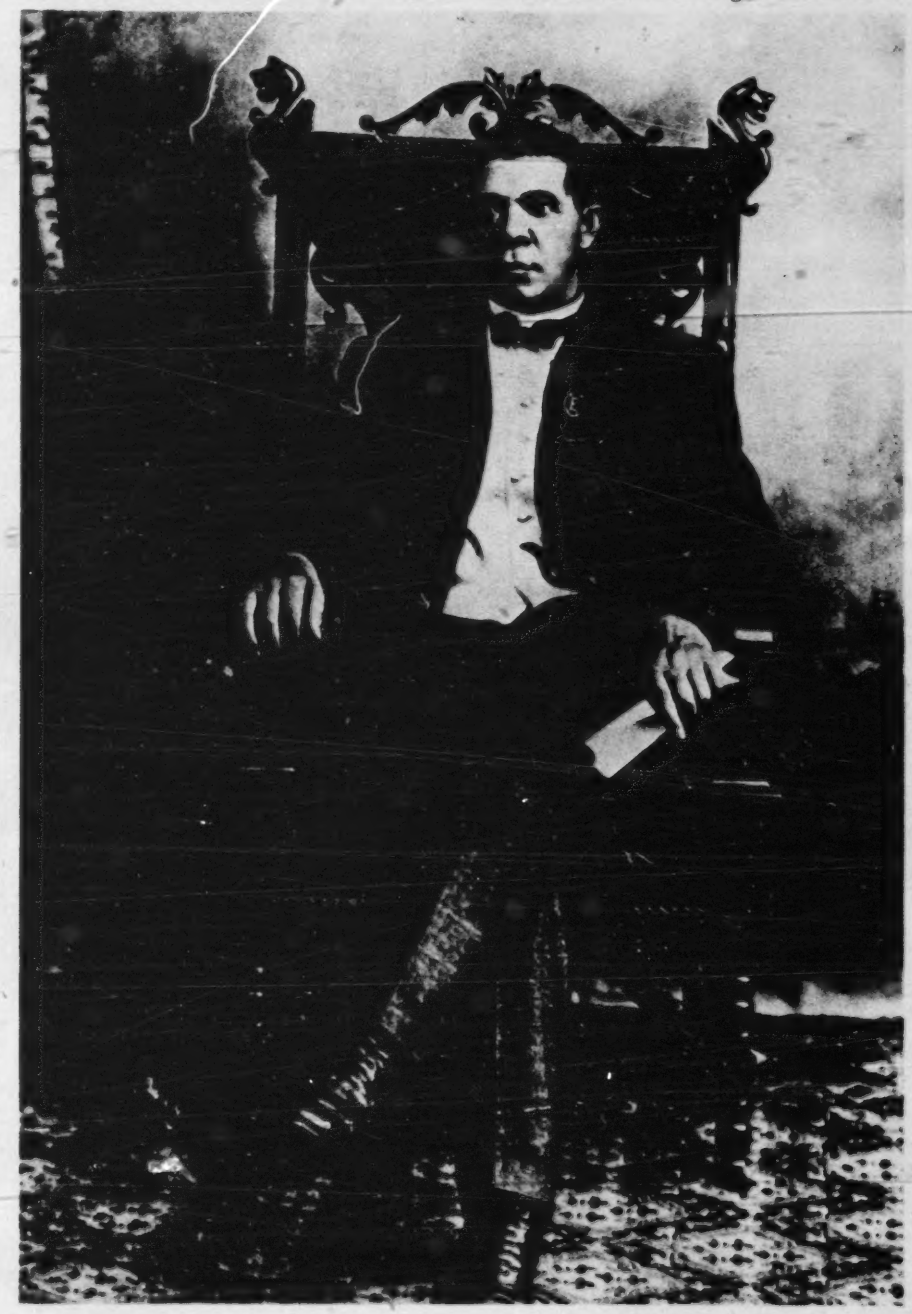
Frederick Douglass (above), W.E. DuBois (below), and Booker T. Washington (right).

the South. In both North and South, to be sure, these schools were inferior to those attended by white children, and so they were to remain when the new Nation was born.

Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues saw the contradiction, of course, between the ringing words of their Declaration and the condition of the blacks in the land: "All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator. . ." meant all white men – not blacks and not women. But they clearly decided that the better part of valor was to defer that inconsistency for later generations to confront rather than risk a stillbirth of the Nation.

Yet, as the Revolution accelerated the demand by blacks and humanitarian whites for emancipation, so it also stirred the hunger for education by blacks, slave and free, who viewed learning as the road to freedom and eventual equality. It similarly stirred resistance to black education by apologists for slavery who agreed with the blacks' estimate of education's role but disagreed with its desirability. Thus education of slaves in the post-Revolutionary War South was largely by stealth – a surreptitious act of civil disobedience. The teaching of blacks, especially of slaves, came to be forbidden by law; penalties were harsh and punishment extreme. Being found with a book was as damning as being caught with a gun. Yet teaching went on – in barns, in black churches, in woods. Schools were broken up only to be started again and to survive their martyrs.

The passion for education on the part of blacks was a consuming fire in pre-Civil War days, and it burned with even greater intensity after freedom. Whoever could drive a nail took part in the building of schools, and all who could read felt a compulsion to teach others their priceless skills. But black education during Reconstruction was not, of course, only a self-help operation. Northern teachers poured South with missionary zeal and in their ranks also were some blacks. Black churches and fraternal organizations went



south, too, in the mushrooming drive to educate the folk recently set free.

The task was so great, however, and the required funds so enormous that hardly a dent could have been made in the problem without the active participation of the Federal Government. The Freedmen's Bureau under the War Department joined forces with missionary groups and various aid societies in organizing and administering education for former slaves. Out of that partnership between the military and the missionary over 4,000 schools were built. Small children, parents, grandparents, and even great grandparents flocked to the classroom. Even necessities like food and clothing gave way to learning as the first order of need. The Bureau established Howard University in the Nation's capital, and in collaboration with the American Missionary Association developed such other institutions for higher education as Atlanta University, Fisk, Talladega, Tougaloo, and Hampton—all destined to become distinguished names in black higher education.

But despite the freedmen's unparalleled hunger for learning and the drive of government-financed missionary teachers to provide it, education for blacks remained inferior to that available to whites, especially in the South. Beyond the fact that they were segregated, public schools established for blacks during Reconstruction were of much lower quality than those attended by whites. And even the better Southern land-grant colleges, established near the close of the 19th century were, like the private schools, essentially available only to those few blacks whose families had managed to achieve a degree of affluence.

Further, "industrial education" eclipsed liberal arts as the focus of Southern black education. This development was produced by a host of intertwined historical forces. For one thing, the socioeconomic structure of the region, shattered by the ending of slavery, was reorganizing itself. As the scattered pieces fell into place, black skilled tradesmen were thriving and rising into a new middle class—there was indeed truth in the view that industrial education could equip blacks to respond to new opportunities. (Those opportunities proved to be short lived: white artisans began forcing blacks out of the skilled trades even as the idea of industrial education was beginning to develop.)

Meanwhile many Southern whites had come to regard such training as a way of building a social caste system to take the place of slavery, with blacks working with their hands rather than pursuing intellectual or professional careers. Philanthropists also supported the idea, though for different reasons, seeing it as a way of aiding black advancement while avoiding conflict in the tense post-Reconstruction era.

At the same time, numerous black leaders advocated industrial education and built an advancement ideology around it as the only politic and feasible course to follow in view of the existing situation. Bigots would not oppose it, for it avoided the threatening spectres of equality and power. People North and South who wanted to see blacks advance into rewarding ways of life, but really did not believe in equality of the races, would support it, too. Philanthropists, whose funds were essential, would back it. In short, the feeling was that blacks could make genuine progress without threatening the power structure and inviting reprisals. Considering the forces lined up to block racial equality, the reasoning went, it would not be possible for many more generations or even centuries. Thus nothing would be lost by postponing the demand for it.

Chief among the black advocates of this position was Booker T. Washington, whose educational views were a counterpart of his philosophy on black progress in general. He sought to navigate the treacherous post-Reconstruction waters with diplomacy and skill. His were methods of accommodation and compromise, not the protest and ceaseless struggle for which Frederick Douglass had earlier called when he declared:

> *"Those who profess to favor freedom but deprecate agitation want the crops without plowing up the ground. . . . Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will."*

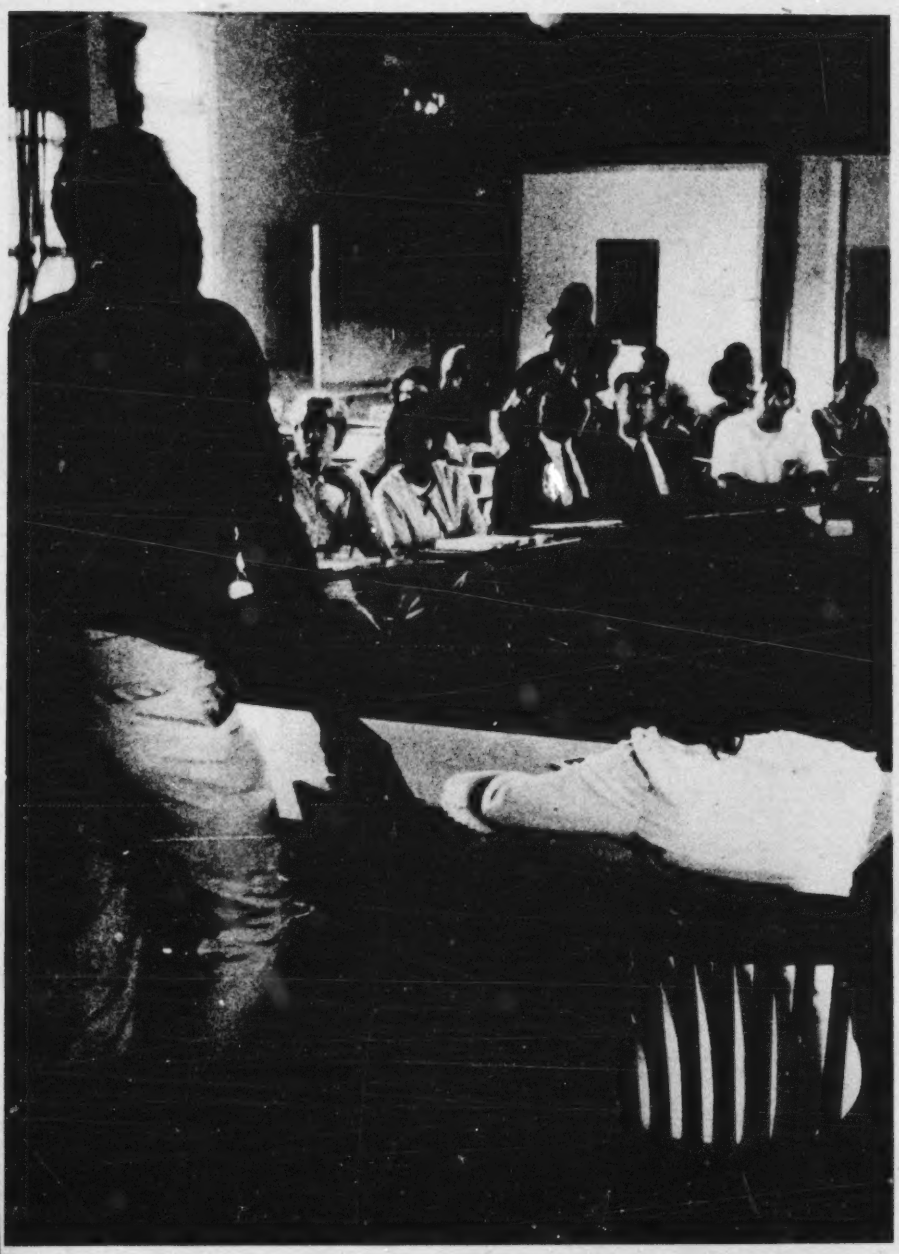
Washington thought that the power confronted by his people was so awesome that to "demand" in his day would produce only annihilation. When he counseled blacks to "cast down your buckets where you are" what he had in mind was not that they revolt but that they take up education. He believed that preparing a people for special roles in society—as artisans and other skilled and competent workers—would make that society dependent upon them. The result would be dignity and respect, though not, to be sure, equality. But after all, equality was deemed to be an impossible dream not to be attained for generations. Upward mobility would exist, but within the confines of a clear socioracial stratification. Integration lay in the distant future. Washington's vision was of blacks and whites being as separate as "the fingers" but as united in common purposes as the hand. And the vision was not unproductive. He founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, specializing in industrial, mechanical, and agricultural studies, and raised millions of dollars for his far-flung educational and developmental programs.

Though wide support from a broad spectrum of American society made Booker T. Washington's views dominant, his approach did not go unchallenged. Voices of protest were never stilled. The keen mind and acid pen of W.E. DuBois, for instance, continued to "assail the ears of white America" and to voice sharp criticism of Washington's compromises and "indiscriminate flattery" of whites. Dr. DuBois, a brillant Harvard Ph.D., never deprecated industrial education, but he insisted that there was an equally important need for education—including highe

education—of an academic nature. A born aristocrat, DuBois saw the hope of the future as lying in the "talented tenth"—the few blacks with a liberal arts education—who could elevate the masses. Progress would thus be from a "pull" more than a "push."

While the DuBois-Booker T. Washington debate centered around educational direction, the nub of the argument was over methods and objectives in black Americans' efforts to make their way in the Nation's society. DuBois's method was protest, by pen and tongue, and his goals were voting rights and the "abolition of all caste distinctions based. .. .on race and color." To mount an organized program of public agitation and protest he founded the Niagara Movement in 1905. Its momentum was blocked, however, by the wide-ranging influence of Booker T. Washington. Four years later DuBois and some of the other key members of the movement, in collaboration with prominent white liberals, established the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Voicing the social objectives of DuBois, and demanding academic training for the gifted, an instrument to pursue educational equality in America at last came full-blown.

While the vehicle for the black American's early 20th century trek toward equal educational opportunity was at hand, the ultimate direction of the odyssey was not yet clear. There were conflicting road signs, some leading nowhere. While "assailing ears" in an attempt to persuade a reluctant Nation, wearied of race effort, the struggle sought its muscle in the courts. But before the turn of the century the United States Supreme Court had in the famous railroad case of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson* enunciated the "separate but equal" doctrine and held that such an arrangement did not violate the 14th Amendment. In 1908, moreover—one year before the NAACP was born—the Court upheld a Kentucky statute requiring separate instruction for blacks and whites, and it remained consistent in that view for more than a generation.



The 1960s saw an upsurge in community participation and a growing demand that schools be accountable for the product.

Pre-Revolution education of most black children in the Colonies depended primarily on the efforts of white philanthropists, who secured tutors and established schools for them. Pictured here is Anthony Benezet, a prominent Philadelphia Quaker and opponent of slavery who was instrumental in seeing to it that many poor blacks received an education.

With the legal basis of school segregation thus firmly ensconced, the struggle in the first third of the century was for *equal* facilities in the *separate* schools. This quickly proved to be a dead end. Facilities in Southern schools remained patently unequal, but in most cases the courts held that such inequality had not been properly demonstrated.

The NAACP and other black organizations rose to the challenge, gathering evidence that the courts could not lightly dismiss and insisting that separate facilities either be made intrinsically equal or abolished altogether. This path was more rewarding. Cases proliferated and devices used by States to avoid abandoning segregation became increasingly strained and costly. Missouri, for instance, offered to pay the tuition for a black student named

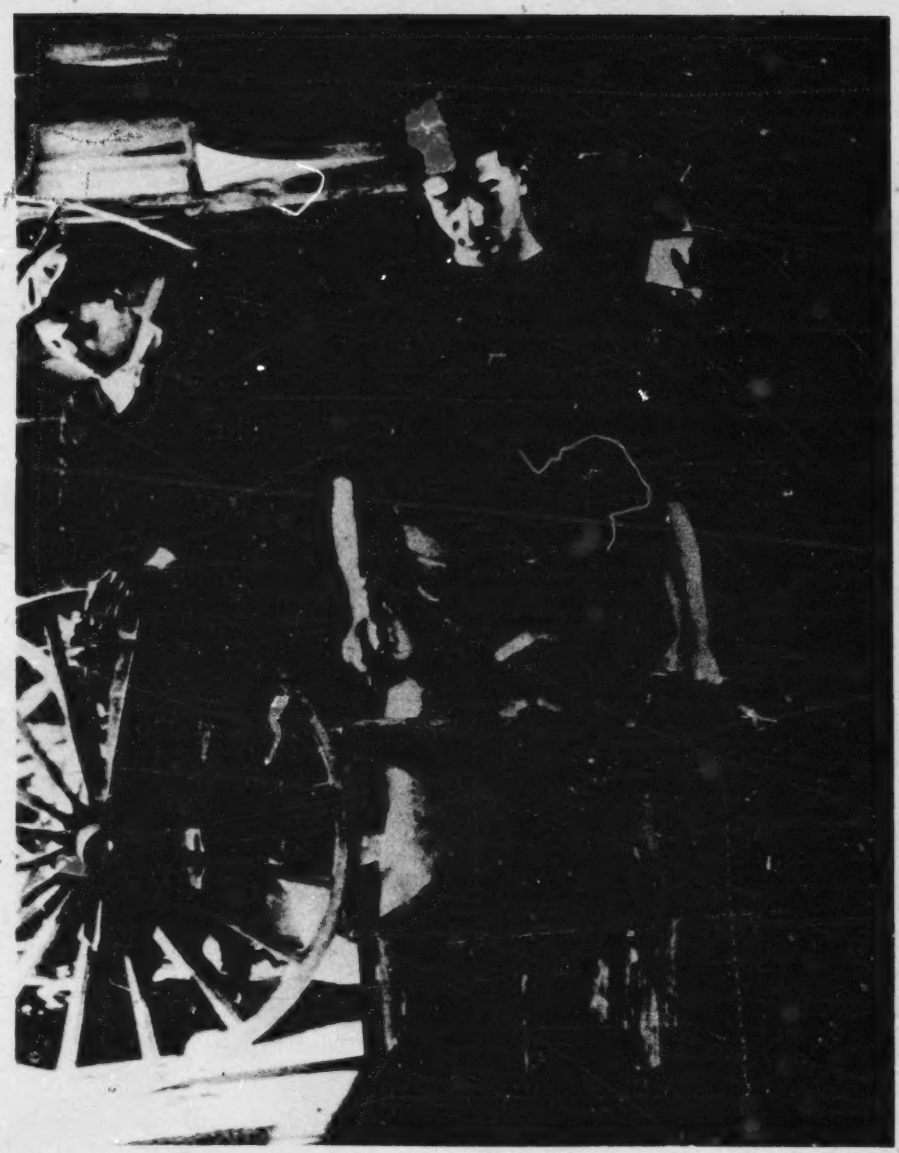
Floyd Gaines to attend an out-of-State law school. The Supreme Court supported his refusal to do so and ordered that the State either build a law school for blacks equal to that for whites or admit him to the University of Missouri. Oklahoma, after court action, set up a new black law school in less than a month. Arkansas and Delaware admitted blacks to classes in courses not offered in the black State college. Texas built a law school for blacks which was promptly rejected by the Supreme Court because it could not be equal in terms of alumni influence, school tradition, prestige, and faculty reputation. As a consequence of such challenges as these, legal segregation was doomed. Inequality, in the view of the Court, clearly was an inescapable corollary to segregation.

What had occurred was more than an evolution in the Supreme Court perception of the issue. The new day also reflected a change in the mood of the Nation. By the 1930s the post-Reconstruction lethargy had lifted. Many people North and South who honestly had once believed that separate facilities could be equal and that this arrangement would be a viable solution to the problem of race in America, now sensed the farcical nature of that concept and the absurdity of pursuing it further. Moreover, slavery and the Civil War had faded into the dimmer past: now on stage were the children and the grandchildren of those bloody days, not the combatants themselves. Even Reconstruction no longer was a burning recollection of contemporaries.

Further, the New Deal spirit of powerful new alliances and of change had swept the land. The formation of the CIO had brought a feisty new element to labor unionism, depression-bred social radicals were everywhere, and blacks became integral parts of the new coalitions. Few were immune to this atmosphere. The Supreme Court, it is true, interprets law, not social climate, but the justices themselves do not live in a vacuum. It did not take long for the climactic case to arrive; the time had come for the idea of desegregation for equal educational opportunity.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States in *Brown* vs. *the Board of Education* explicitly stated what previously had only been implied—that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." A year later it ordered that the decision be implemented "with all deliberate speed."

That was the fountainhead from which all subsequent activity toward equal educational opportunity in America flowed. If the Declaration of Independence planted the seed of equality in the Nation, the *Brown* case was seen as promising the harvest.



Industrial education supplied society with skilled black workers during Reconstruction.

"What happens to a dream deferred?" asked the celebrated black poet Langston Hughes. "Does it dry up, like a raisin in the sun? Or fester like a sore—and then run? Maybe it just sags like a heavy load. Or does it explode?"

Martin Luther King's dream of equality had become the common dream of the black experience in America. The essence of that dream has long been articulated in different ways and with varying emphasis and modification of interpretations—by figures ranging from slave revolt leader Nat Turner and the "Underground Railroad" conductor Harriet Tubman to Frederick Douglass and DuBois, and then to King.

In 1954 euphoria spread among black Americans and among their friends and advocates in white America. But in the last two decades the harsh realities of today's educational problems have dawned. Those realities have been much more than the slowness of "all deliberate speed" or the resegregation through the flight of the whites which often followed desegregation; rather they have hinged on the elusive means of providing not just the form but also the substance of quality education for millions of children burdened by centuries of neglect. The realities have not eclipsed the dream, but they have awakened a realization that a long haul lies ahead.

The *Brown* decision set in motion boundless energies, spawned by the promise of Jeffersonian equalitarianism but pent up by delay in fulfilling that promise. From Little Rock to Alabama to Oxford, Mississippi, and throughout the South, children and youth rose to irrepres

The quality and kind of education in black circles is a concern of young and old alike.

sible and heroic dimensions and the barriers came down. There were of course other foci in the equality drive of the 1950s and 1960s. There were boycotts and Freedom Rides and sit-ins at lunch counters; voter registration drives were launched and, with Federal support, blacks were registered *en masse;* Dr. King, whose charismatic appeal succeeded in activating a sizable minority, perhaps one-fourth, of the black population, as well as millions of whites, led marches for across-the-board desegregation and dignity, and there was the March on Washington in 1963—all stimulated by the decision that educational facilities by race were unconstitutional.

Resistance was overcome, and Southern *de jure* school segregation—that is, separate schools mandated by local and State laws—is now virtually a museum relic. But *de facto* segregation, the Northern variety springing from residential lines of racial demarcation, remains very much alive, and as the black population increases in the cities and whites increase in the suburbs, it is growing. Since the black city-white suburb pattern is growing in the South as well, *de facto* segregation is spreading there, too, and tending to replace its *de jure* twin.

Thus the busing of children to defeat the residential barriers to school integration—ordered by many courts and required in some instances by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as the only feasible plan to comply with the law's demand for racially integrated schools—has become an issue of more heat than light. It has aroused massive white resistance and considerable black ambivalence. Other alternatives also have been proposed and sometimes instituted either alone or in conjunction with busing. There is the Princeton Plan, for example, under which schools are paired; there is also the concept of establishing clusters of schools known as "educational parks" without regard to neighborhood boundaries. In all these moves, a new motivation is involved.

The attack upon *de jure* segregation was based upon the conviction that such schools were *inherently* unequal. It was based, too, as testimony of scholars in the *Brown* case showed, upon the psychological damage done to blacks by their being told in effect that they were not worthy of associating with others in the society. The assault upon *de facto* segregation, to the extent that it is really *de facto* and not the result of districts which had been gerrymandered so as to appear to be *de facto*, stems from a related but different rationale. It certainly does not reflect a belief that blacks cannot learn unless in classes with whites. It reflects instead the thought that white schools receive better personnel, funding, and facilities because white parents wield more economic and political power, and that if black students are in those schools they too will be beneficiaries of that power. Thus far this approach has yielded only minimal results due to the white flight to private schools and to the suburbs, and consequent resegregation.

Meanwhile the past decade has seen the development in black circles of increasing concern about the quality and kind of education their children are receiving and its "relevance" to their life condition. This engrossment does not necessarily contradict the desegregation effort; rather it adds a new and more profound dimension to that endeavor. Such a zeroing-in on the *substance* of equal educational opportunity as well as its form, springs from two powerful and interrelated forces which alternately have confused and fascinated the Nation—first, black identity, and second, a grass-roots awakening to the proposition of maximum feasible participation.

When blacks were told in *Brown* vs. *the Board of Education* that they were not beyond the pale, and in the public domain were equal and could not be demeaned, self-concept flourished. And since the rejection had been on ethnic grounds, not individual, this new self-esteem was similarly ethnic. Black became not ugly but "beautiful." "Black studies" were demanded to augment the rediscovery of self.

Ethnicity unleashed, however, tends to court extremes. There was much nationalism and an element of separatism; there

LEANSING IN WEALTH.
WILSON, CHARLEY, REBECCA & ROSA.
Slaves from New Orleans

was black hate to match white hate; there were even black cries echoing earlier white ones: "two, four, six, eight—we don't want to integrate." But such excesses, common to mankind, do not conceal the positive and useful thrust of viewing educational materials and devices through the eyes of a minority experience so generally neglected. In a pluralistic culture, this kind of identification can be part of the discovery of truth. Today, in any case, all signs indicate that black absorption with self has mellowed to such an extent that black "monism" is giving way to a kind of pluralism which, while continuing to celebrate self, can celebrate also others.

One of the sparks thrown off by the "Civil Rights Revolution" of the 1960s, and further ignited in the antipoverty program, was the concept of "maximum feasible participation." Ordinary folk, and poor, who for ages had been quiescent if not invisible, suddenly were bursting with existence. As in pre-Civil War days, the schools were their primary target. They were mothers and some fathers, and they knew their children were not learning to read or compute any better than they themselves had learned.

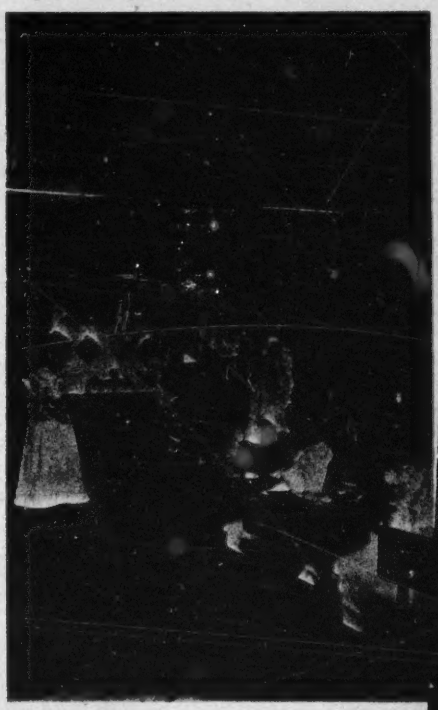
Their new-found sense of importance was outraged. What they demanded was that the school which their children attended be accountable to them for its product, and that their community organizations be granted a control enabling them to evaluate and react to the school's performance. Those in motion now were not DuBois's "talented tenth," but King's "involved fourth."

The inner-city parents were not educators or even necessarily educated, and many educators understandably took a dim view of granting such control to nonprofessionals. In addition some unions of teachers objected to persons outside their contractual relationship being in a position to affect the job security of their members. Perhaps for these reasons the concept of community *control* of schools was doomed in most cases from its inception. But a legacy of community *participation* remained, and the idea of accountability for the product is now accepted by a growing number of school administrators. The failure of "community control" to gain ascendency did not mean that the issues joined by community folk were of no validity and sparked no exploration. Moreover, others with no less passion joined in taking up the cudgel.

Our schools, educators have pointed out, are not yet adept at educating children of the poor, the nonwhite, and those of rural cultures. In the new era of participation, that breakdown is not being accepted passively. Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, as well as blacks, have insisted upon wider use of materials of an ethnic nature to which their children can relate. The Spanish-speaking have further demanded, and in many cases secured, bilingual education. Minority scholars, and many from the majority too, have devised "culture-pluralistic" and "culture-specific" tests of intelligence, aptitude, and achievement—alternatives to standardized tests in general use that are seen as possessing a cultural bias disadvantageous to minority students. (Other scholars, it should be noted, while acknowledging the existing cultural bias, see the solution as "acculturation" rather than changing the tests.)

Compensatory education programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have proliferated, even though with limited results. Government sponsored research sets an unprecedentedly high priority on work to improve the educating of minorities. Colleges and professional schools have launched affirmative action recruitment so as not to be found wanting in the percentages of minority students of which they can boast, and developmental or remedial courses have been instituted to help the minority recruits succeed. And what this spirited activity by government, school systems, and universities reflects is the mood of the day—a sense of urgency communicated by minority communities. The results may not yet be meaningful, but a sense of movement is undeniably there.

Clearly, then, "equal educational opportunity" has undergone considerable redefinition since *Brown* vs. *the Board of Education*. The aspirations of the great-grandchildren of slaves have risen. A little advancement, like a little food, has whetted the appetite; that is the story of human progress. The goal is no longer equal access—equal right to enroll in a school or sit in a classroom. It is now equal results. It is to employ methods and materials and programs capable of closing gaps in educational achievement. And still further, the objective is to raise the educational level of the whole Nation, for the attainment of equality on any level below that of excellence is now perceived to be an empty triumph. □



Gonzales

Joe Gonzales rested his forearms on the steering wheel of his camper pickup truck as he watched his youngest son thread his way across the busy junior high school lawn, trumpet case banging away under one arm, his gym clothes and some books tucked under the other. Joe could tell by the haze that was gathering off in the distance near the hills that it was going to be a hot day, which meant it would probably be like an inferno in the automobile assembly plant where he worked.

But right now his thoughts were with his son Frank, just disappearing into the schoolyard. Joe was thinking back to the days before World War II, in the friendly, crowded barrio of his boyhood, and what school had been like then.

Things had sure been different, he mused. There had been no junior high school—just a grammar school where all the kids were Mexican and then a four-year high school. It was tough in that elementary school, he recalled, and they sure came down hard on anyone who didn't speak English. Joe winced as he remembered the many times he had had to stay after school because he had been caught talking Spanish to his friends. He remembered also the tumbledown wooden building and the old classrooms, the dust in the summer and mud in the winter, and watching the shiny yellow buses drive by the all-Mexican school to "Toonerville," the shantylike neighborhood one block away. There the buses picked up all the "American" kids—that's what we called them sometimes, he reflected with a smile, but most of the time they were "gringos" or "gabachos," especially when we were mad—and took them to the all-white school on the other side of town.

And there was his school's playground. It seemed to *grow* rocks. At least there was always a whole slew of them around, no matter how often he was made to stay after school and gather a couple of bucket loads. That was one of the punishments for being caught speaking Spanish, even on the playground. He recalled one teacher who told him, "Joe, you're in our country now. You're in America, in the United States, and you have to speak English. You're not in Mexico."

Then there was high school, and the shock of being with "los Americanos" for the first time. At the grammar school Joe had been a leader, a good student, with straight A's on his report cards. In high school, it was so different. Those white kids all seemed so smart. They were so far ahead of him and the 26 other kids from his eighth-grade graduating class. Before long he had seen his friends begin to drop out of school and go to work picking tomatoes or walnuts or, if they were lucky, to find other jobs. If not, they would just hang around the grocery store down by the corner, doing nothing. He recalled finally being the only one left—one out of 27 in a little over a year. And then there was his own growing frustration with his inability to keep up, and ultimately his decision when he was in the tenth grade to quit and help his truck-driver uncle load and unload carrots and lettuce at the packing shed.

Then came the war, and beating the draft by joining up on his own. As he looked back, that had been like entering a new world. If it hadn't been for the service, he decided, he would've never found out that he could make it, that he wasn't "dumb," that he wasn't inferior. And he remembered the promise he had made to himself that his kids would never have to suffer through the indignities and problems he had had in school. His kids were going to be "Americans," not Mexicans, and they were going to make it.

As Joe sat there, the morning sun

and Sons

warming up the cab of his camper, he reflected on how things had worked out, how hard it had been for him and his wife, Angie, to make a go of things, and how determined they had been to make sure their sons went through the experience of what a teacher had called the "melting pot." He remembered their own insistence on speaking English at home and never Spanish, the hassle over whether they had enough money to buy an encyclopedia, their attempts to conform to what they thought was the way good American parents should act, their sometimes painful experiences with PTA and Little League and the Boy Scouts.

John, their oldest boy, had seemed to be everything Joe had dreamed of when he was in school—a good student, accepted, popular, a better than average athlete. But then some questions had arisen—as a matter of fact, when John became a tenth-grader. Joe remembered the day well when his son asked, "Dad, how come we don't speak Spanish, and how come we don't seem to have Mexican friends?" Joe recalled suddenly suspecting that maybe the melting pot wasn't all it was cracked up to be. Maybe John still felt "different," and though the boy seemed to be surviving the system, maybe school was just about as unhappy an experience for him as it had been for his old man.

And then later there had been the situation with the second boy, Paul—proud, aggressive, tough, always questioning. The family rebel. In fact, he insisted his name was "Pablo," not "Paul." Ouch! That little switch had touched off what seemed like an endless series of negotiations with the youngster's teachers and ultimately the principals, first in the grammar school and then the junior high. That boy, Joe mused. The aches he brought us, but in the end how much he made us think about who we really were and about our beautiful culture, and realize how rich we were. Paul was now at the university studying to be a lawyer, but there remained the vivid memory of his militancy, his organizing the Mexican students, his leadership in demonstrations demanding that the school recognize the identity of "his" people.

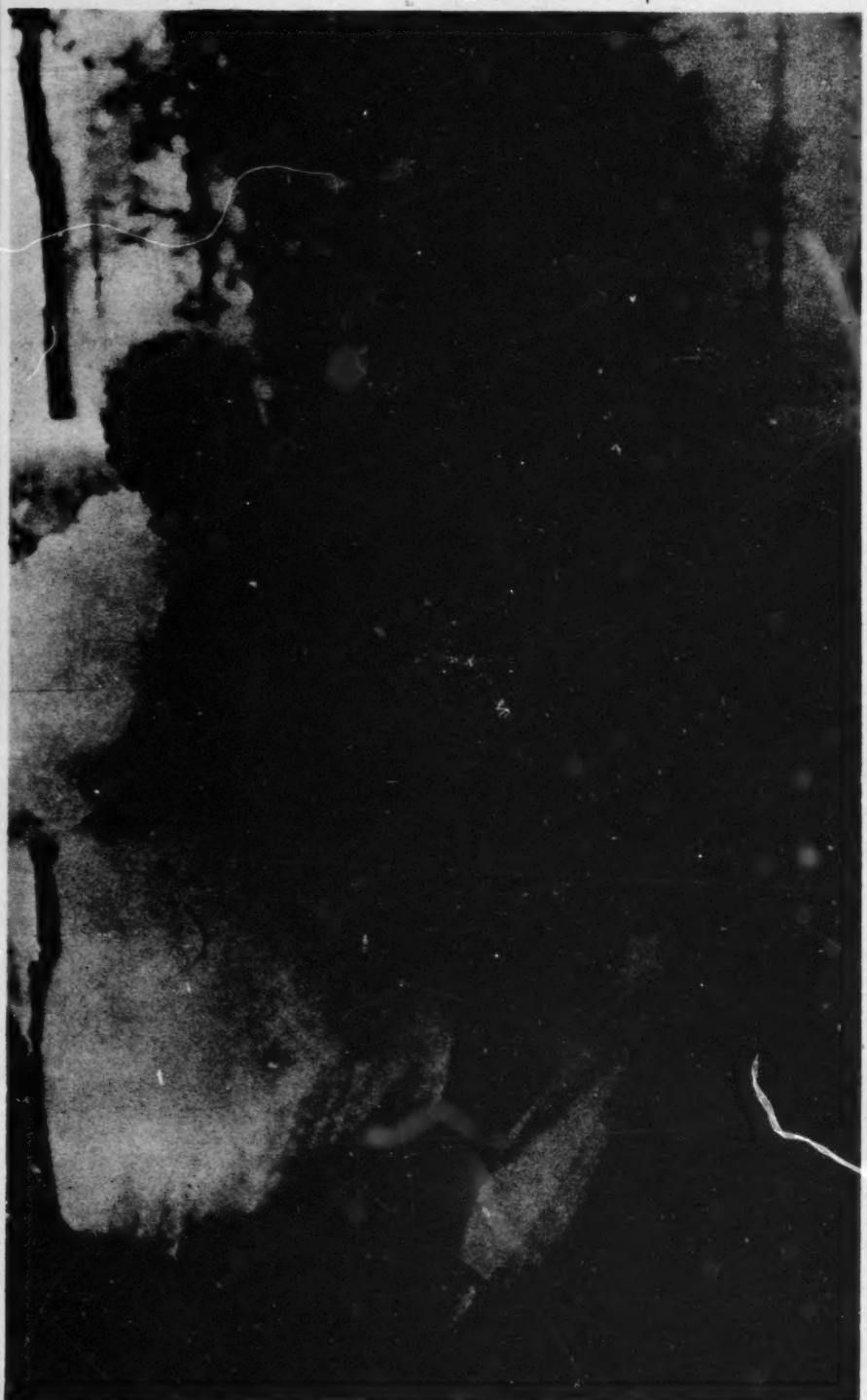
The traffic near the school had died down now, and as Joe looked out the window, almost all of the students had disappeared from the lawn. He thought of their youngest boy, Frank, a kid who somehow was a mixture of John and Pablo, and of how he—Joe—and Angie had changed and how their lives had been changed by their boys. He thought of how the schools were changing, too. Who would have thought a few years back that they would even recognize *el cinco de Mayo*, a Mexican national holiday, let alone a week-long observance of it! Or who would have imagined that a whole section of the school would be involved in bilingual programs!

Things were not perfect. Too many Mexican kids still weren't really getting anything out of school, and too many were dropping out. Too many were still having trouble finding an identity, caught in the crossfire of two cultures. And yet, things were changing. Slowly, but they were changing. At the very least it was okay to speak Spanish. And the playground at Frank's school was as good as any in the State, and the buildings were modern and attractive. Maybe one day there wouldn't be all the fuss about being "different," and people would be accepted on their merits as individuals.

Suddenly the school bell clanged long and loud, bringing Joe upright in his seat. He looked in the rear-view mirror and pulled the camper away from the curb. Actually, it looked like it was going to be a pretty nice day after all.

—BILL RIVERA
Special Assistant to the Superintendent, Los Angeles City Schools

New Era for Special



From the left: Helen Keller; her tutor, Anne Sullivan; and Alexander Graham Bell.

An aspect of Indian culture that astonished the colonists, we are told, was the concept that the gods had a special concern for the mentally and physically handicapped and that all creatures on earth were obliged to share it.

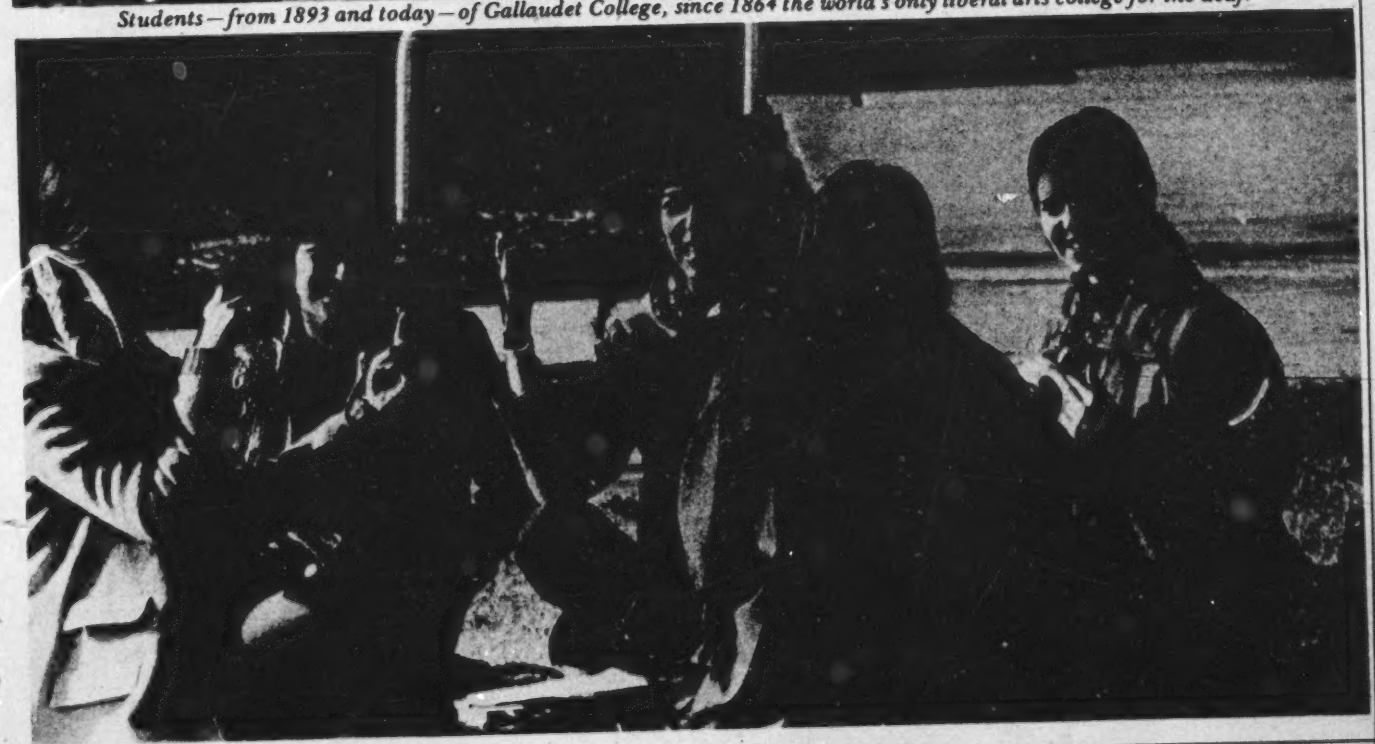
The more prevalent feeling, a legacy from the Middle Ages, was essentially one of rejection. It was thus perhaps inevitable that the initial moves to provide education for the handicapped entailed removing them from everyday affairs. Those offered any help at all were normally placed in an "asylum," a word which, along with "feeble-minded" and "deaf and dumb," quickly acquired pejorative connotations. The effort was nevertheless a major step forward, and it began in the New World with Americans who traveled to Europe to study the pioneering techniques beginning to emerge there.

One such was Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. Not only a teacher but a teacher of teachers, he became so interested in the communications problems confronting people who could not hear that he went to Paris to visit a school for the deaf that had been started by a young priest named the Abbé de l'Épeé. When Mr. Gallaudet returned to the United States he brought with him a deaf man who had been trained at the school, Laurent Clerc, and in 1817 they established the Nation's first formal educational institution for the handicapped—the American Asylum for the Deaf, located in West Hartford, Connecticut. Mr. Gallaudet was in time to gain an international reputation for his leadership in the education of deaf and other handicapped children, and he is memorialized today by Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., the only liberal arts college for the deaf in the world.

Another importer of European techniques for educating the handicapped was John D. Fisher, who had gone to Paris to study medicine. There he became fascinated by the work being done in a residential school for the blind that

Education

Students—from 1893 and today—of Gallaudet College, since 1864 the world's only liberal arts college for the deaf.



Deaf education proponent Thomas Gallaudet, for whom Gallaudet College is named.

had been started by Valentin Hauy. After his return to the United States in 1826, Dr. Fisher described that work so persuasively that three years later the Massachusetts State Legislature voted funds to establish in Boston the New England Asylum for the Blind (soon thereafter renamed the Perkins School for the Blind and subsequently relocated in its present site in Watertown). The initial director of the school was a physician named Samuel Greeley Howe, and his contributions and those of Dr. Fisher also were to be memorialized—in their cases by the accomplishments of two remarkable women who had been born both blind and deaf.

The first was Laura Bridgman, who began her instruction at Perkins in 1837 when she was seven years old. Her success not only in learning to read and write but as an extraordinarily effective teacher brought new hope to the parents of handicapped children around the world. One such parent was the mother of six-year-old Helen Keller, who read about Laura Bridgman's achievements and sought help from a graduate of Perkins Institute named Anne Sullivan. With Anne Sullivan's help and her own indomitable determination, Helen Keller became the author of several books, a much-sought-after lecturer, and one of the most admired public figures the Nation has ever known.

Spurred by such examples of what could be done, other institutions for youngsters suffering various handicapping conditions began to come into existence. Most clung to the practice of separating the handicapped from society in special schools, but appearing here and there were arrangements which, while segregating handicapped youngsters from other children, at least made it possible for them to remain with their families. In 1871 a day school was established in Boston for deaf pupils, for example, a class in Providence in 1896 for the retarded, another in Chicago in 1899 for crippled children.

One of the most effective spokesman for this approach was Alexander Graham Bell, who proposed to the 1898 convention of the National Education Association that programs for the handicapped be established in the public schools. Such children, he said, would "form an annex to the public school system, receiving special instruction from special teachers who shall be able to give instruction to little children who are either deaf, blind, or mentally deficient, without sending them away from their homes or from the ordinary companions with whom they are

associated." Dr. Bell was addressing the conference not as the celebrated inventor of the telephone but as a speech expert from a family of speech experts. He had among other things successfully undertaken the instruction of a deaf boy named George Sanders in Salem, Massachusetts, and it was in the Sanders home that he made his first telephone experiments. When it became clear that his invention would bring him wealth, Dr. Bell wrote to his mother, "Now we shall have money enough to teach speech to little deaf children."

Dr. Bell's comment was revealing not only of his character but of the shaky financial base of the various efforts to educate the handicapped. It is probably fair to say that in general, education of the handicapped ("special education," as it is now referred to by educators) was thought of by the public at large as essentially an exercise in charity. Not long after the turn of the century Elizabeth Farrell, a young teacher at Public School Number 1 in New York City, advocated and exemplified a new point of view. Considering handicapped children not as a caste of unfortunates, but instead viewing them as individuals, she dedicated herself "to the end that each and every child should be given the opportunity to develop according to his capabilities." She worked first with a group of boys regarded as misfits because of their chronic truancy. On the theory that the school should adapt to them rather than demand that they adapt to the school, she organized an ungraded class in which the children learned with materials not usually associated with the classroom—picture puzzles, tools, paint and brushes, even tin cans. From there she went on to organize basic classes for younger children with intelligence quotients of less than 50 and trade courses for retarded older boys and girls. Along the way, in 1922, she organized and was first president of what is now The Council for Exceptional Children.

"Exceptional children" is an inclusive term covering not only the Helen Kellers and Laura Bridgmans and Miss Farrell's chronic truants, but also exceptionally gifted youngsters whose very brightness can produce problems for them; the physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped; children whose socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds set them apart; students with motor, visual, auditory, communication, behavioral, cognitive, and specific academic learning dis-

abilities—in short, boys and girls in need of special educational programs, services, facilities, or materials.

There are an estimated seven million such school-age youngsters in the United States—some 10 or 12 percent of the overall school-age population—plus another million preschoolers. Particularly because of efforts undertaken during the current decade, major progress has been made in affording them educational opportunities commensurate with their needs. During the last five years the number of handicapped children receiving effective special education services has climbed from 2.1 million to nearly three million. That nevertheless leaves another three million or so who are receiving considerably less than an adequate education and one million who are denied access to a free public education altogether.

Moreover, the figures alone do not indicate the depths of the handicapped children's dilemma. They are still more often than not categorized, almost as if they were something less than individual human beings; they bear a stigma. They are often separated from other children—not infrequently at the instigation of parents and educators who see the possibility of difficulties or disruptions—a practice that is particularly corrosive for children whose handicaps are relatively minor. Civil rights actions have revealed many cases in which black, Mexican-American, and American Indian youngsters have been placed in classes for the retarded when their "problem" would appear simply to have been a different cultural background.

Stimulated in part by the progress achieved during the past five years, a surge of activity is now under way toward strengthening special education in all its parts. More and more public schools, for example, are seeking to reach out to the severely or multiple handicapped child. There are programs to help the parents of handicapped children start the educative process during infancy. A search is on for better testing and evaluation procedures (particularly in relation to minority groups). There are programs to involve handicapped boys and girls more fully in career or vocational education. There are renewed efforts to serve the needs of the gifted and talented. In general, there is increasing interest in bringing exceptional youngsters into education's mainstream. While the word "mainstreaming" seems to have different meanings for different people and programs, its essence is the idea of providing special education to exceptional children while they attend regular classes. It should be noted, however, that some educators feel immediate total immersion in regular classes to be impractical for a significant portion of handicapped children and suggest instead what they call "progressive inclusion"—that is, starting off by including the handicapped child in selected classroom activities for limited spans of time and then moving forward from there.

Behind such moves as these is a changing philosophy that is increasingly being spelled out in the law. The education of exceptional children is no longer perceived as a matter of charity or simply as wise practice initiated by an enlightened society determined to capitalize to the fullest on its human resources. The issue now is one of the handicapped child's rights as a citizen—the proposition that the public schools are as fully obligated to serve exceptional children as they are any others of school age. The courts have agreed, perhaps most strikingly in the landmark 1971 case of *Pennsylvania Association for the Retarded* v. *the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, which held that the public schools of that State could not ignore the educational needs of the mentally retarded (and by implication the needs of other exceptional children as well). By now at least 36 lawsuits have been filed in 25 States aimed at guaranteeing handicapped children their right to an education and bringing an end to State and local policies and practices that either exclude these children or provide them with an education that is clearly inappropriate. In all major instances in which decisions have been rendered, the courts have found for the plaintiffs.

Special education is thus entering a new era, demonstrating as it does so that the principles commemorated in the Bicentennial observance remain vigorous. It is of course true that millions of handicapped youngsters are still effectively detoured from "the pursuit of happiness," but their number is dwindling. More and more are being offered truly equal educational opportunity, the right to achieve their potential and thereby make their individual contribution to the Nation's further progress.

—WILLIAM C. GEER
Executive Director
The Council for Exceptional Children

THE ARTS IN THE SCHOOLS— A 200-YEAR STRUGGLE

BY NANCY HANKS

It is more sad than shocking that two fundamental parts of American civilization developed almost independently of each other: the arts and general education. Historically, the arts have rarely come first in our schools, which had sterner tasks than pursuing the Muses. "To America one school master is worth a dozen poets," said Benjamin Franklin, "and the invention of a machine... is of more importance than a masterpiece of Raphael."

John Adams made a more famous statement and its hopeful promise may yet be fulfilled. "I must study politics and war," he said, "that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. . . navigation, commerce and agriculture in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry and porcelain." If his vision was noble his timetable went instantly awry: his son grew up to be President too.

Adams's priorities may have been sound for the infant Nation. Physical and political security came first; an expansive economy came next; the arts came last, if at all. But how much really changed until very recently? For nearly two centuries national leaders voiced high-minded thoughts about the arts—and then went on attending to "matters of consequence," to borrow a phrase from Antoine de Saint-Exupery's *The Little Prince*. They had the approval of the people who elected them to lead. These constituents also elected school boards, trustees, and superintendents of similar utilitarian stripes, and so practicality prevailed in education.

As the Nation became fundamentally more democratic (and as education grew less elitist) schools became increasingly vocational in the basic sense. Schooling was geared to help students bring home leaner bacon than their fathers had, whether the child was to be a "noble yeoman" of Thomas Jefferson's vision or a doctoral candidate in one of today's law, medical, scientific, or education schools.

By popular if misguided definition, the arts were traditionally deemed less necessary, less American somehow, less manifestly predestined than mechanics, agriculture, technology, and the so-called professions. Certainly the arts came to be taught in the painting academies and music conservatories that grew in the 19th century. But these too were trade schools that isolated students in their own ivory towers and excluded outsiders.

Nevertheless in the past 150 years drawing and singing have managed to move slowly, almost furtively into public schools. That the arts entered the schools at all is the near-miracle. Some highlights of how it happened deserve a swift review.

Music in the schools had a brief heyday on this continent. The first European

Miss Hanks is Chairwoman for the National Endowment for the Arts.

teacher was Brother Pedro de Cante, a Franciscan in Cortez's train. In 1523 he offered Indian children a curriculum modeled after the medieval cathedral schools. He taught reading and writing, of course, but stressed singing, the making and playing of instruments, and music manuscript copying. The Spanish mission system reached far into the present day United States as its patrons sought heathen souls to save and native gold to ship home. By 1540 Juan de Padilla, another Spanish missionary, was teaching music in what is now New Mexico, a cultural cul de sac far from what would become the turnpike of American development.

In New England a full century later, religious motives were again the prime mover of education—but without musical accompaniment. The purpose of the written Word was to point the way to salvation along a route that became increasingly narrow. In 1643 a Boston pamphleteer explained the colonists' rationale:

After they had built houses and "convenient places for Gods worship and settled the Civill government; one of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was to advance Learning... dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches when our present Ministers shall lie in the dust." Fortunately, "It pleased God to stir up in the heart of one Mr. Harvard. . . to give the one halfe of his Estate . . . towards the erecting of a College, and all of his Library" which comprised 320 books. After the Connecticut General Court endorsed Yale's founding, it stated, "One principal purpose in erecting this college was to supply the church in this colony with a learned, pious and orthodox ministry."

In 1647 Massachusetts authorized the first publicly supported schools with a law requiring every town of more than 50 households to employ a reading and writing teacher. Many settlers balked at this extravagance and the schools were seasonal to the point of being sporadic as teachers—many of them ministerial candidates awaiting a vacant pulpit—rode circuits.

Understandably, given the fundamentalist standards of the day, artistic subjects were avoided like Satanic infections. Creative curriculums, in the modern sense, were unheard of in grammar schools with their hornbooks, rote methods, and hickory-enforced discipline. Portraiture was left to sign painters, who learned their art as apprentice tradesmen. Interest in music, according to one scholar, "declined almost to the vanishing point" in insular 17th century America while Monteverdi, Scarlatti, and Purcell composed for European contemporaries. What music survived here was liturgical. The second book published in the Colonies was *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640), which set down David's song in metrical verses that could be sung to tunes the immigrants brought with them.

In 1721 one of Franklin's brothers printed a book with musical notation. About this time the "singing school" was becoming popular to improve church music. It was a social and religious adjunct, hardly an educational one. In 1833 the Boston Academy of Music was founded with the revolutionary purpose, among others, of encouraging music in the public schools. A few years later what we'd call a pilot project received charmingly breathless approval in a report to Boston's mayor. It read:

"One thing has been made evident, that the musical ear is more common than has been generally supposed. There are but few in the school who make palpable discords when all are singing.... They prefer the play of a hard music lesson to any out-of-door sports.... A song introduced in the middle of the session has been invariably followed by excellent effort. It is relief to the wearisomeness of constant study. It excites the listless and calms the turbulent and uneasy. It seems to renerve the mind and prepare all for more vigorous intellectual action."

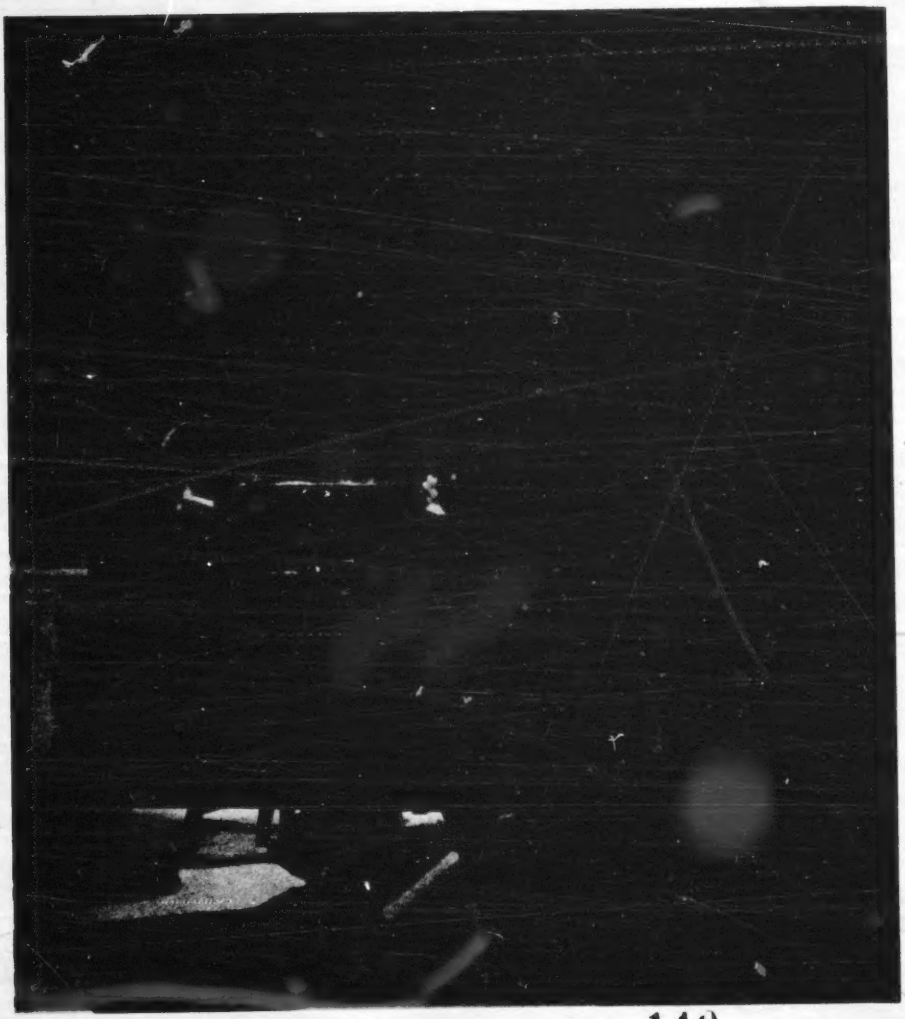
In 1836 Calvin E. Stowe reported to Ohio School authorities on European education trends. He said he observed in Germany "the universal success and very beneficial results with which the arts of drawing and designing and vocal and instrumental music, moral instruction and the Bible have been introduced into the schools." He met teachers who "had never seen a child that was capable of learning to read and write who could not be taught to sing well and draw neatly, and that, too, without taking any time which could at all interfere with, indeed which would not actually promote his progress in other subjects." (If Mr. Stowe anticipated John Dewey, he also proved that his wife, the former Harriet Beecher, had all the writing talent in the family.)

The spread of music was slow. In 1860 Philadelphia overseers resolved that there should be a piano in every school. In 1865 New Haven's first music teacher was getting started in school hallways. He moaned "it was very difficult indeed to convince the authorities that ...musical instruction should be governed by the same rules and regulations that obtained in other subjects." (Then, as now, an innovator's first obstacle was the deportment department.) By 1886 the U.S. Commissioner of Education estimated that music was being taught regularly in less than 250 schools.

Art was academically accepted even later, except in professional schools. Amos Bronson Alcott included drawing from nature for a half-hour a week in the 1830s. But his Temple School was closed because discussion of religious principles was part of the curriculum.

Creative arts were still considered icing on the cake of aristocratic education at a time when most young people got an unleavened diet of practical training in schools. These subjects, as a critic observed, were only "accepted as a means of refining the taste and of giving, particularly to young ladies in private schools, the finishing touch of art to an education incomplete without a few lessons on the harp and a few others in sketching in pencil or sepia."

The first public school drawing classes were promoted by Horace Mann, who published a series of lessons imported from Germany in his *Common School Journal* in 1844. Typically, the purpose was practical, not expressive. "Drawing is a form of writing," he wrote, "and should be taught with it." This art—the rendering of formal and tidy geometic forms—must have been sterile stuff. It wasn't *ars gratia artis* but early mechanical drawing, which had a high marketplace demand as New England's manufacturing capacity expanded with her industrial ambitions.



The U.S. Bureau of Education, precursor of the present Office of Education, ultimately came around to the following point of view: "The element of beauty is found to have pecuniary as well as aesthetic value. The training of the hand and of the eye which is generated by drawing is found to be of greatest advantage to the worker in nearly every branch of industry. Whatever trade may be chosen, knowledge of drawing is an advantage and in many occupations is becoming indispensable.... The end sought is not to enable the scholar to draw a pretty picture but to train the hand and eye that he may be better fitted to become a breadwinner." That was written in 1874, two and a half centuries after the first schools opened in New England.

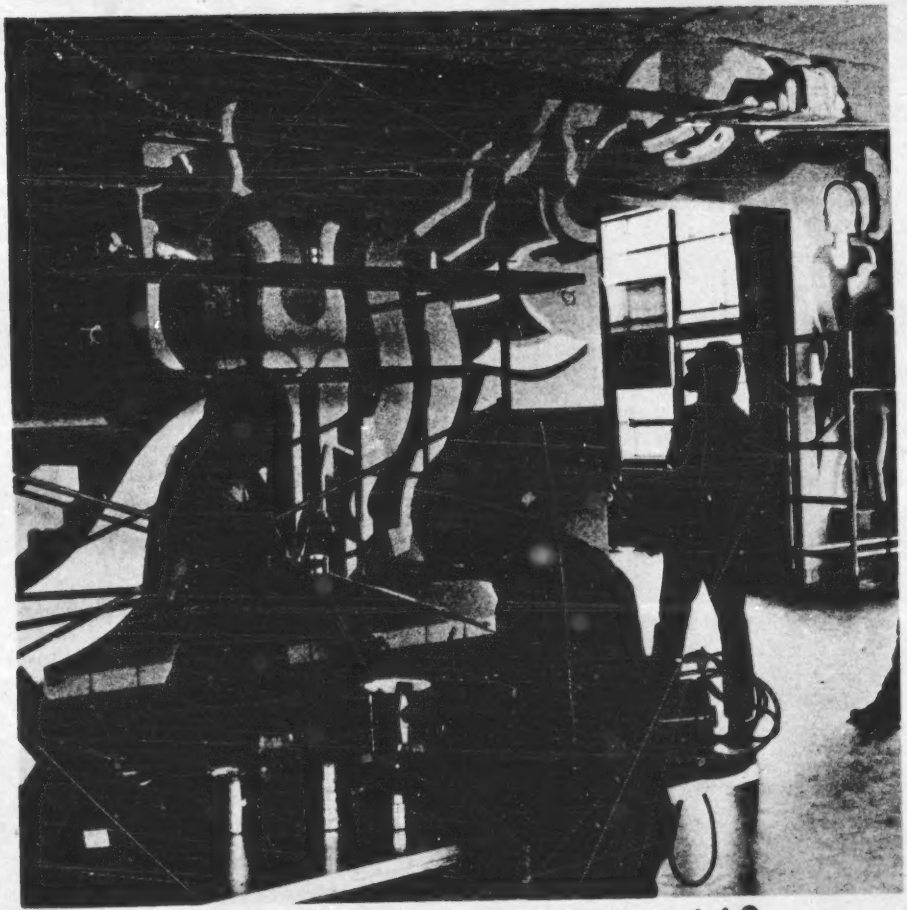
Soon afterward, the Western Drawing and Manual Training Association (the National Art Education Association's antecedent) was organized. Its premise: "New problems in education and child life confront us as the world grows more dramatic. To art we must look for liberty from the mountain-fastnesses of materialism and excessive commercialism." Sound familiar? That was in 1899.

In the same year John Dewey wrote "School and Society," the first of his seminal works that stressed the experiential development of the whole child. He spelled out what previous observers had only hinted at. "The arts are not only intrinsically and directly enjoyable," he wrote, "but they serve a purpose beyond themselves. They are not luxuries of education, but experiences of that which makes education worthwhile."

How far have we come toward accepting that idea? In 1906, seven years after Dewey had set forth his idea the president of the Western Drawing and Manual Training Association told a convention of specialized teachers, "There is a general awakening to the importance of the arts; their value is being realized industrially, educationally, commercially, artistically as never before.... With this awakening of interest it becomes increasingly clear that the arts are soon to be accorded the importance they deserve as instruments of education and that they have their definite values not as ends in themselves so much as means in fitting for life." Similar feelings are still being expressed—and in the same hopeful tones.

The New York State Commission on Cultural Resources declared, "The arts not only belong in the schools but the schools and the curriculums are incomplete without them." Undeniable though that point may be, there is little evidence that it receives any particular pushing on the part of educators. Using National Education Association data, the U.S. Office of Education in 1973 ranked public secondary school priorities this way, according to the breakdown of teachers' specialities: English (20.4 percent of the teachers), mathematics, social studies, science, health and physical education, industrial arts and vocational education, business, home economics, foreign languages, music (3.8 percent), art (3.7 percent), then "special education" and "other." According to the same source, in nonpublic secondary schools last year, there were 3,900 music teachers and 1,100 art teachers for 1.3 million students. Only home economics, industrial arts, and the ubiquitous "other" numbered less.

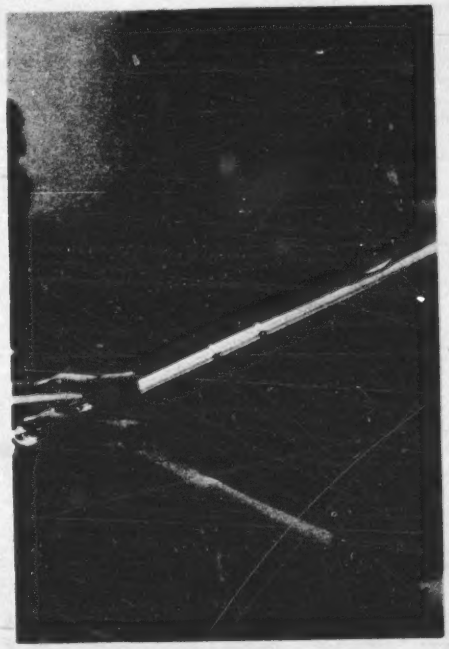
Conceivably one might infer that these breakdowns conceal the proposition that artistic awareness permeates the teaching of social studies, home economics, and the rest. But this isn't the general rule. The arts, where they are taught at all, are often isolated in rigidly designated time slots and cloistered rooms. In many colleges, art history is insulated from painting and sculpture by walls mortared with interdepartmental rivalry. Worse, occupational jealousies still keep educators and professional creators apart. Some teachers and theater people, for instance, seem to get a lot of exercise walking their boundaries in the belief that "good fences make good neighbors" still. Such parochial attitudes are slowly breaking down in places.

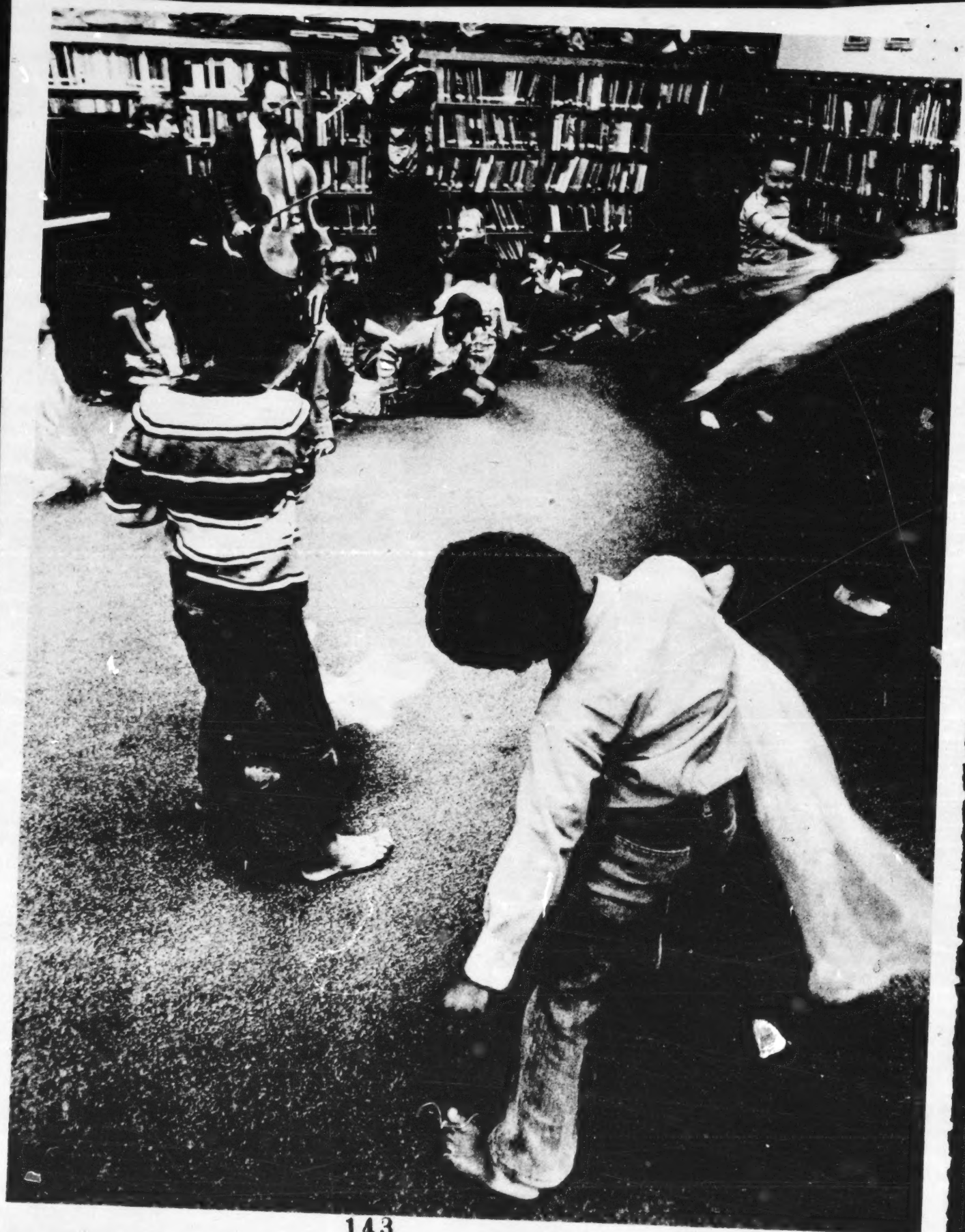


The notion of professional painters, writers, and musicians working directly with students is not new. Yet it remains too rarely applied at the scholastic level. In 1934 Grant Wood took up his brush as an associate professor at the University of Iowa. Two years later the first artist-in-residence as such was appointed at the University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture. In 1970 the National Endowment for the Arts began its Artists-in-Schools program in cooperation with the Office of Education. Last year 1,750 musicians poets, painters, actors, photographers, architects, and other artists worked in 5,000 schools in all 50 States. Frequently the results have been marvelous. Of course, there have been problems too.

While the numbers of Artists-in-Schools are impressive, there are many schools and millions of students still going without any creative opportunities. What an immeasurable waste of human potential and humane resources! How long will it be before teachers and administrators in every school discover or adopt ways to bring the arts to every child—ways of proven artistic and educational merit? This is one of the major challenges for today's schools.

At present, according to findings in New York State, "students in public and private schools can graduate without ever having personally experienced live professional arts programing, and without ever having had the opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not they have the interest or aptitude to participate in the arts as a professional, amateur, or spectator." That situation might have been acceptable when the Nation fought for life in a hostile environment, but it is disheartening now. (And it bears mention that New York has





done better by the arts than many other States.)

The problem is that artistic creativity in schools is still considered "a kind of garnish easily set aside like parsley." The Endowment is trying to change that; in doing so it is neither alone nor first in the effort. To cite one important example, in 1968 the JDR3d Fund – named after John D. Rockefeller III – supported the first systematic attempt "to provide experiences in all the arts for all students at every level" in a public school system. Located at University City, Missouri, the project sought as one of its goals "to permeate the general education program with cultural awareness through creative experience." Another goal was to "develop an aesthetically perceptive and responsive individual." Why? Because, as Professor Alvin C. Eurich wrote, "We cannot tolerate another generation that knows so much about preserving and destroying life but so little about enhancing it." Enhancing life, illuminating and enriching it – these are what the arts are all about.

It is worth noting that outside the schools, so-called cultural audiences are expanding at exciting rates. A recent Harris Poll reports that 15 to 20 percent more people each year are attending plays, films, concerts, dance programs, and the like at a time when the number of sports spectators has leveled off.

Moreover, many teachers, institutions, and organizations are trying valiantly to make creative awareness and cultural creativity elementary to education. It's an idea whose time has come; awareness of the intrinsic importance of the arts is spreading beyond the academy's walls. Recently the U.S. Conference of Mayors resolved "that city governments recognize the arts as an essential service, equal in importance to other essential services, and help to make the arts available to all their citizens." The mayors defined "a new national goal; that no American shall be deprived of the opportunity to experience... the beauty of life" because of "circumstance, income, background, remoteness or race."

Also encouraging is the prospect of the Bicentennial celebration, which should not only be an occasion to look longingly backward, but an opportunity to really think about why the Nation began, how we got where we are today – for good and ill – and where we want to go from here. Paramount among the Founding Fathers' goals was the triad of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We've gone far with the first two goals in the past two centuries, and a real achievement of the Nation's third century might be the pursuit of happiness through the creative cooperation of artists of all disciplines and educators on all levels. □

A Special Telling of History

1

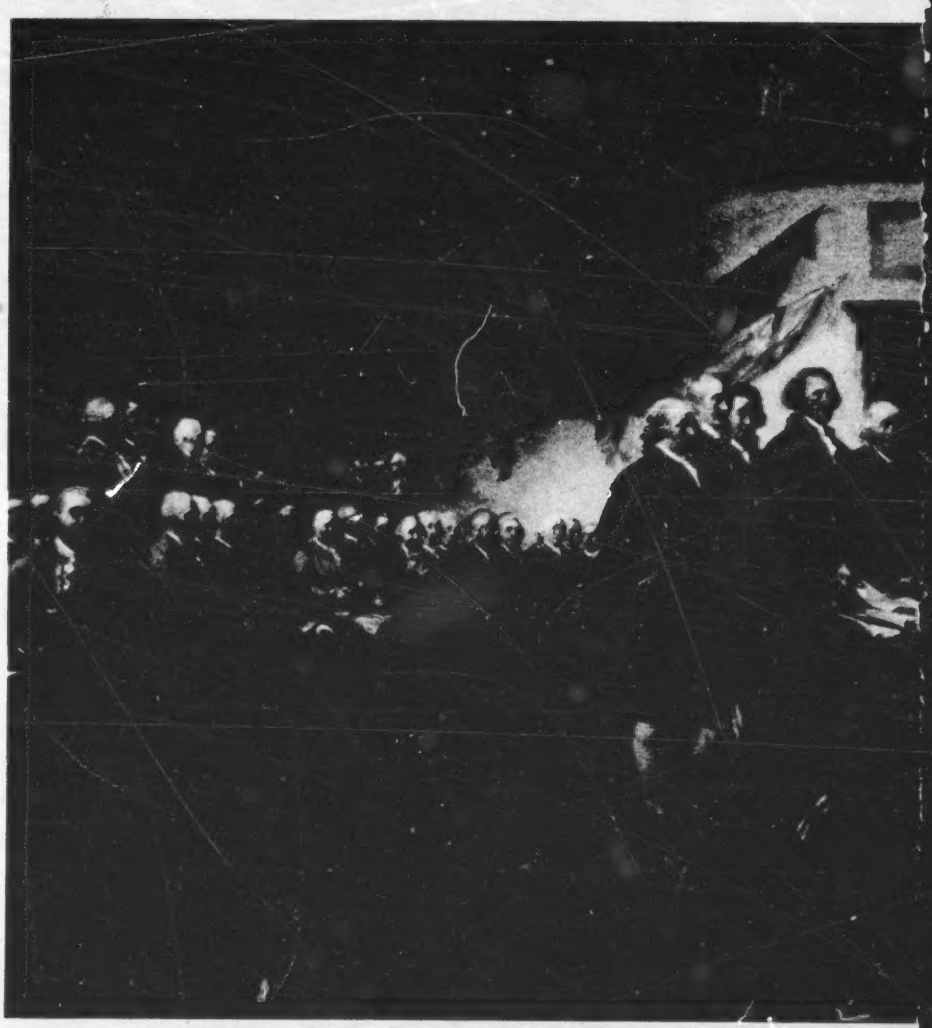
"It is the work of art," said Archibald MacLeish, "that creates the human perspective in which information turns to truth." As a certified, card-carrying poet, Mr. MacLeish was of course talking not of a painting—the usual synonym for "art"—but of the arts in general. And he made a point that has particular relevance in this era of the American Revolution Bicentennial.

A contemplation of our Nation's history need not mean confinement to what has been recorded in the written word. The story of America has been told also—and in ways that impart special dimensions of appreciation and understanding--in music, on canvas, and in stone, by poets and novelists, through plays and musicals and films, even in the dance.

That proposition may initially come as something of a surprise. The impulse is to consider the arts simply as valuable aspects of our national experience rather than as eloquent tellers of it. On second thought, however, numerous examples will come to mind in which a poem or a painting or a play has specifically focused on illuminating the Nation's unfolding, and in doing so has given it "human perspective."

Some random examples of the arts as history are included in these pages. More striking candidates could doubtless be suggested. It's an interesting exercise.

—LEROY V. GOODMAN
Editor, *American Education*



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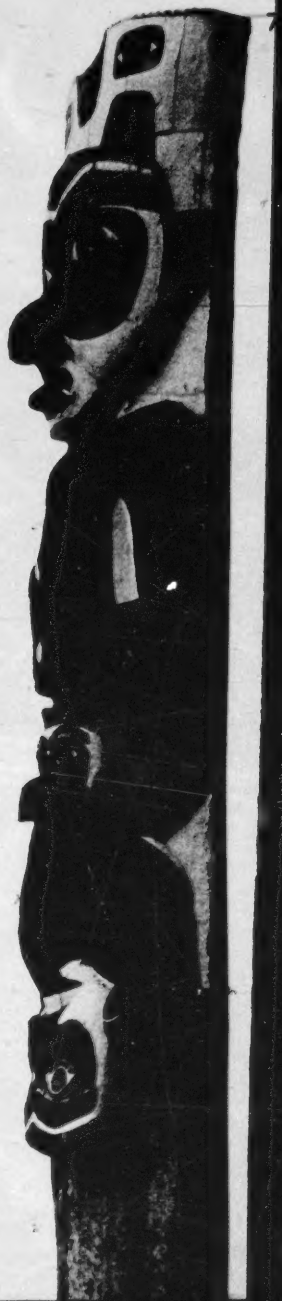

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OR
THE WHITE WHALE

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DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY
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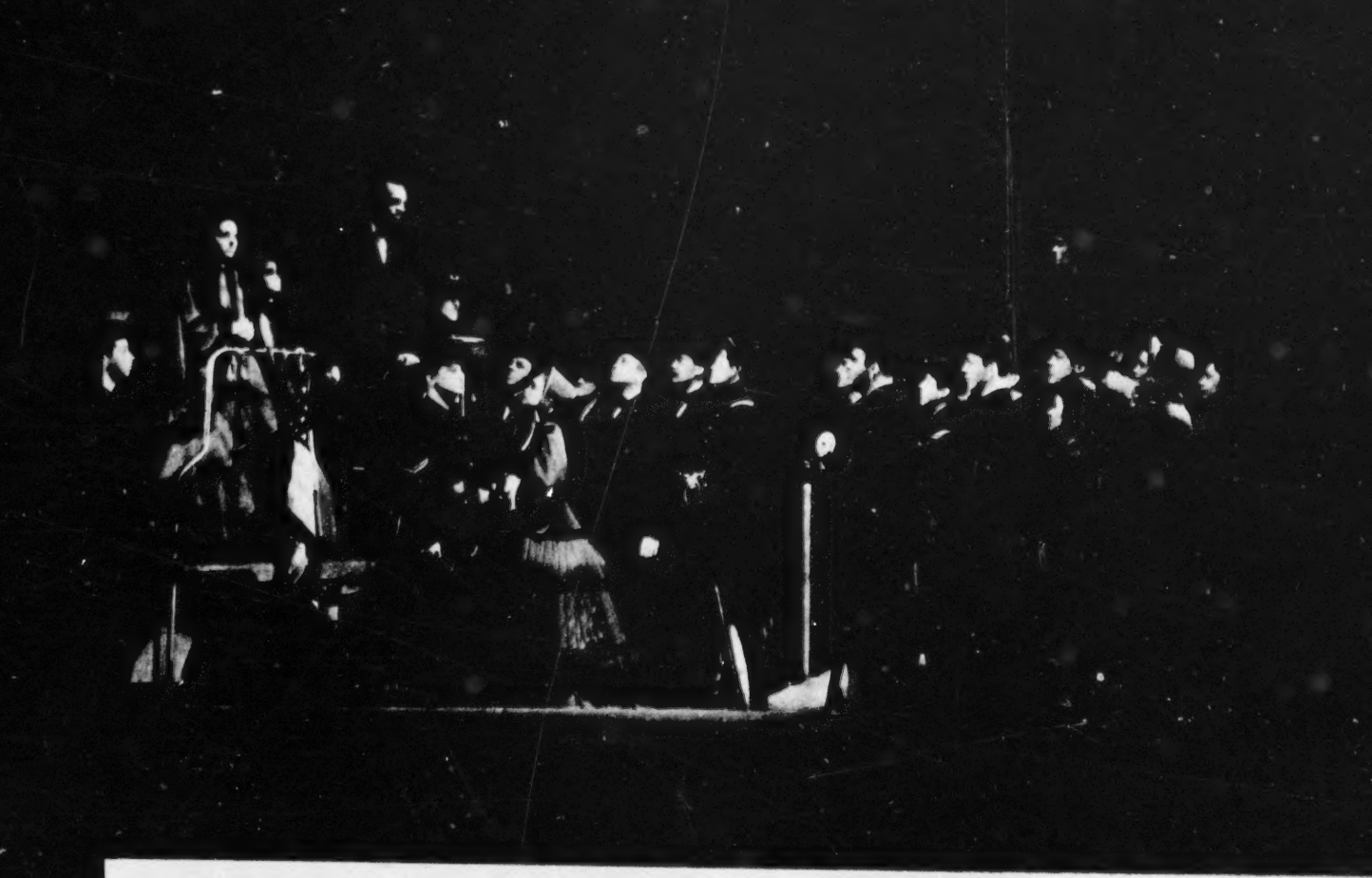
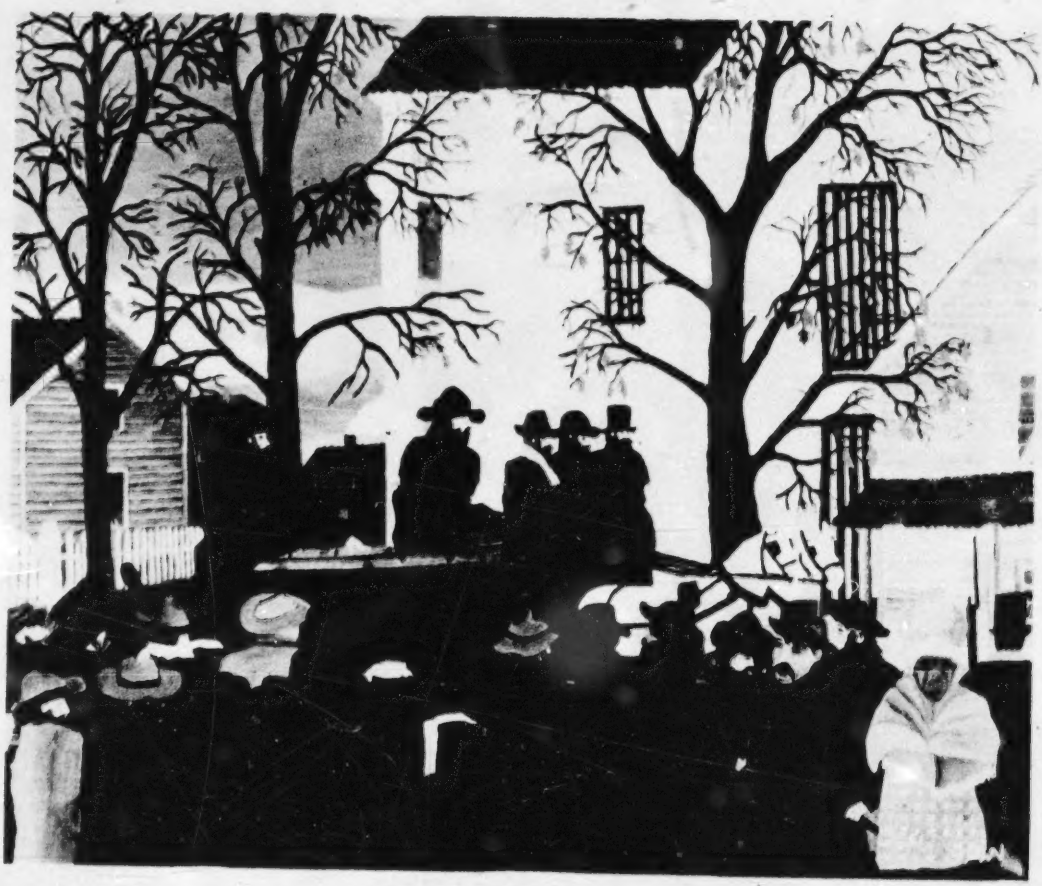




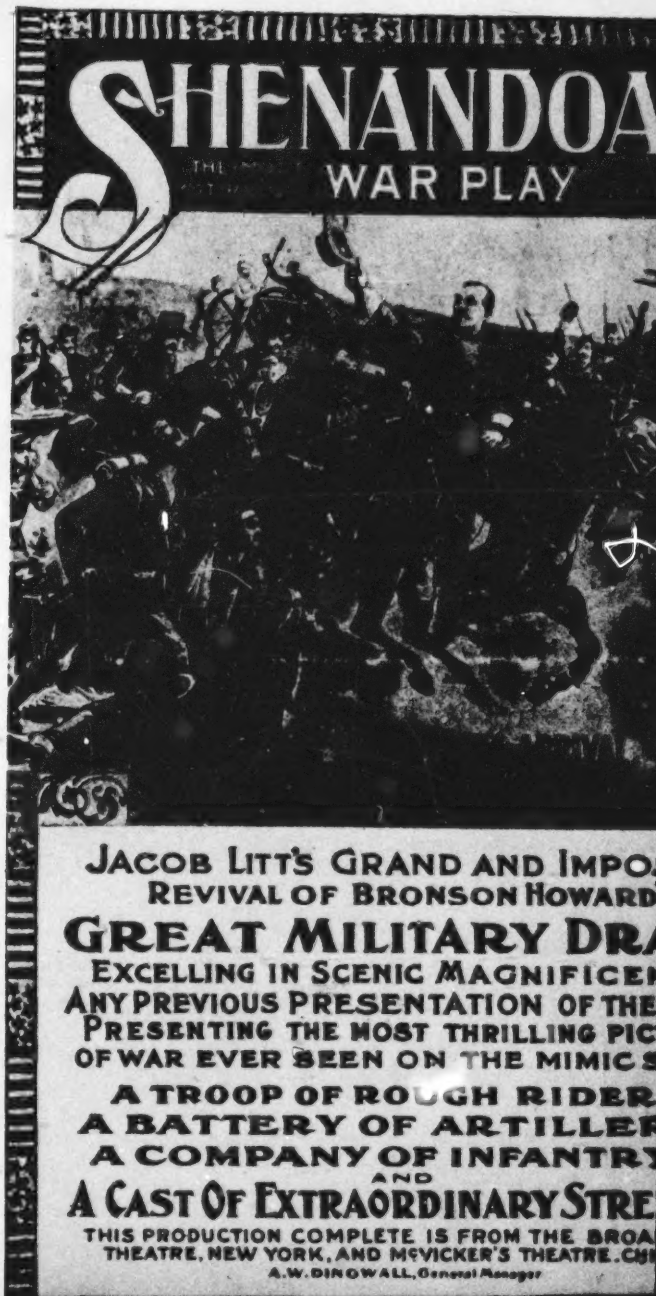
10

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,
Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it sho
blithe and strong,
The carpenter singing his as he measures his plan
The mason singing his as he makes ready for worl
off work,
The boatman singing what belongs to him in his
deck-hand singing on the steamboat deck,
The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench, th
singing as he stands,
The wood-cutter's song, the ploughboy's on his w
morning, or at noon intermission or at sundo
The delicious singing of the mother, or of the you
work, or of the girl sewing or washing,
Each singing what belongs to him or her and to n
The day what belongs to the day—at night the pa
fellows, robust, friendly,
Singing with open mouths their strong melodious

14

13 There are words like *Freedom*
Sweet and wonderful to say.
On my heartstrings freedom sings
All day everyday.

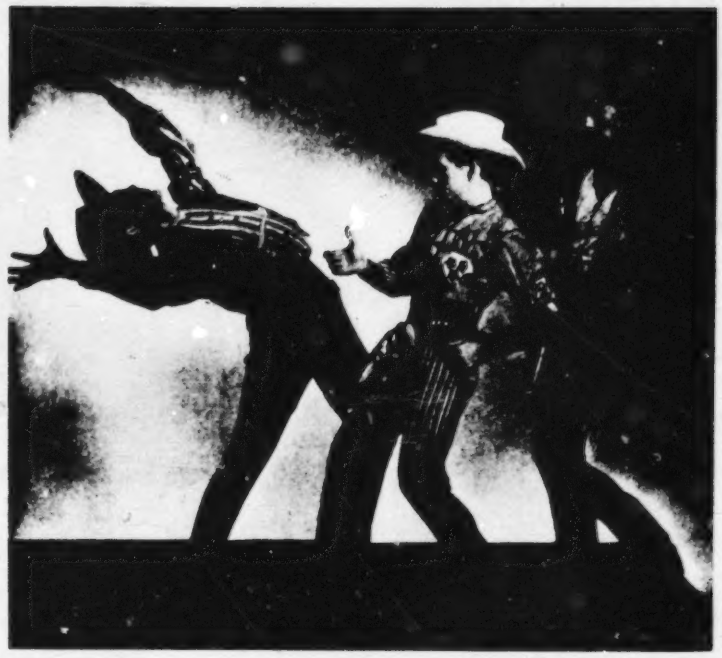
There are words like *Liberty*
That almost make me cry.
If you had known what I know
You would know why.


SHENANDOA
THE
WAR PLAY
JACOB LITT'S GRAND AND IMPO
REVIVAL OF BRONSON HOWARD
GREAT MILITARY DRA
EXCELLING IN SCENIC MAGNIFICE
ANY PREVIOUS PRESENTATION OF THE
PRESENTING THE MOST THRILLING PIC
OF WAR EVER SEEN ON THE MIMIC
A TROOP OF ROUGH RIDER
A BATTERY OF ARTILLE
A COMPANY OF INFANTR
AND
A CAST OF EXTRAORDINARY STRE
THIS PRODUCTION COMPLETE IS FROM THE BROA
THEATRE, NEW YORK, AND McVICKER'S THEATRE, CH
A.W. DINGWALL, General Manager

15

E GREATEST RIFLESHOT
IN THE WORLD

17



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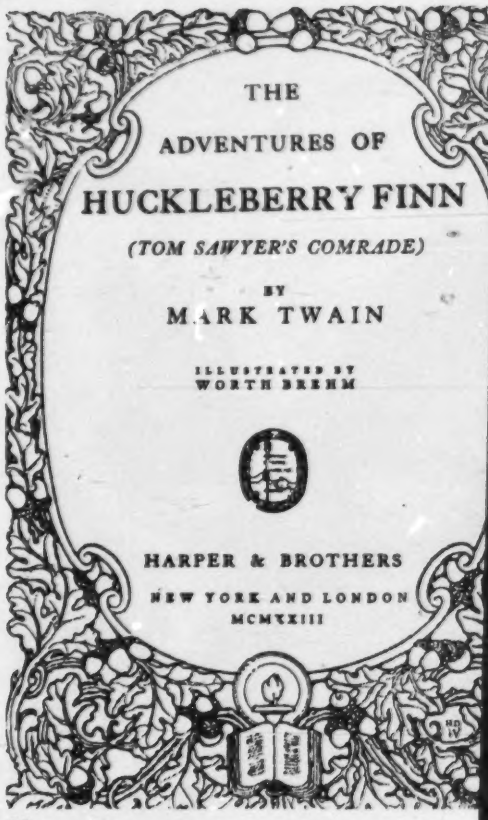


19

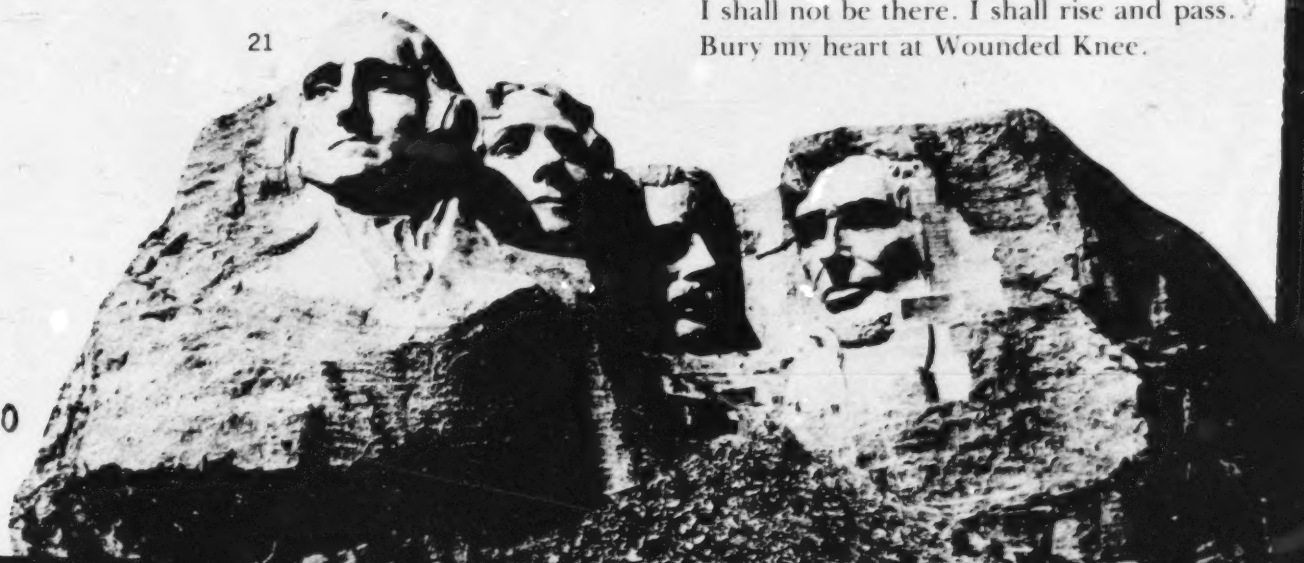
20

I have fallen in love with American names,
The sharp names that never get flat,
The snakeskin-titles of mining-claims,
The plumed war-bonnet of Medicine Hat,
Tucson and Deadwood and Lost Mule Flat. . .

I shall not rest quiet in Montparnasse,
I shall not lie easy at Winchelsea.
You may bury my body in Sussex grass,
You may bury my tongue at Campmedy.
I shall not be there. I shall rise and pass.
Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.

16

21



What Price Glor

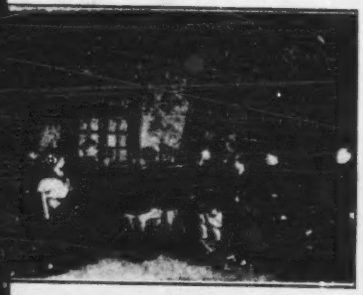
The Great War Come

by Maxwell Anderson
and Laurence Stallings

As Played 442 Times in New York

NO American play has come nearer to greatness!
Woman's Home Compan

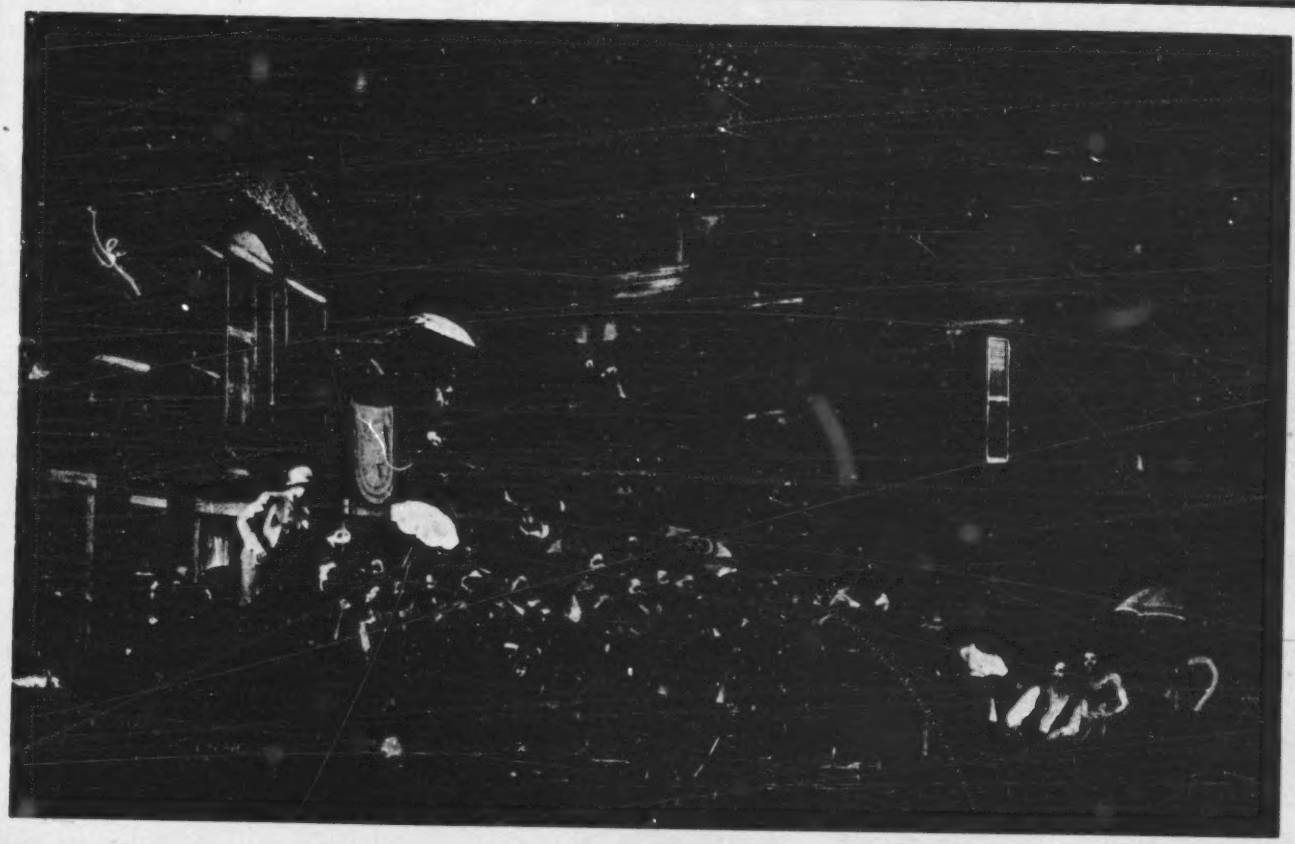
TREMENDOUS! Sardonic laugh fills its every scene.
Alexander Woollcott, N.Y. S



"HERE IS a war play without piffle; it has the ring of truth—the only war play that has got away from the truck of the stage."
Alan Dale,
N.Y. American

SUPERB!
A triumph.
Stark Young,
N.Y. Times

23



24

The sneer is gone from Casey's lips, his teeth are clenched in hate;
He pounds with cruel vengeance his bat upon the plate;
And now the pitcher holds the ball, and now he lets it go,
And now the air is shattered by the force of Casey's blow.

Oh, somewhere in this favored land the sun is shining bright;
The band is playing somewhere, and somewhere hearts are light;
And somewhere men are laughing, and somewhere children shout;
But there is no joy in Mudville – mighty Casey has struck out.

25

ILLUSTRATION KEY: 1) Detail from the "Columbus Doors," which serve as the main entrance to the Rotunda on the East Front of the U.S. Capitol; 2) Grant Wood's *Midnight Ride of Paul Revere;* 3) chorus from "Yankee Doodle"; 4) detail from John Trumbull's painting, *The Declaration of Independence;* 5) playbill for Maxwell Anderson's *Valley Forge;* 6) frontispiece from *Moby Dick,* by Herman Melville; 7) totem pole carved by Tlingit Indians of southern Alaska; 8) scene from the play, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois;* 9) Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* 10) Horace Pippin's painting, *John Brown Going to His Hanging;* 11) scene from the film, *The Covered Wagon;* 12) "I Hear America Singing," by Walt Whitman; 13) "Words Like Freedom," by Langston Hughes; 14) playbill for *Shenandoah* by Jacob Litt; 15) Ogalala Sioux rendering of the Battle of Little Big Horn; 16) Ethel Merman as Annie Oakley in *Annie Get Your Gun;* 17) Charlie Chaplin in a scene from the film, *The Gold Rush;* 18) scene from the ballet, *Billy The Kid;* 19) frontispiece for Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn;* 20) from "American Names," by Stephen Vincent Benet; 21) Mt. Rushmore, South Dakota; 22) playbill for *What Price Glory,* by Maxwell Anderson and L. Stallings; 23) scene from *Porgy and Bess;* 24) from "Casey At the Bat," by Phineas Thayer; 25) *Vaudeville,* painted by Jacob Lawrence; 26) Harold Lloyd in *The Freshman.*

TOMORROW'S EDUCATION

BY RALPH W. TYLER

uring the 200 years of our Nation's existence the schools have been called upon to respond to the needs and expectations of a society marked by change so continuous, so rapid, and so extensive as to inhibit and in some ways nullify the role of tradition.

They have done so with amazing success. Other social institutions also have made important contributions to the education of our citizenry, of course, but it is the schools that have had the basic responsibility. In carrying out that responsibility they have taken the lead in building and maintaining a dynamic and yet stable political and social order. They have been at the heart of the development of a labor force possessing those levels of flexibility, intelligence, and skill necessary to undergird the remarkable advances that have been made in agriculture, industry, and commerce. They have helped to induct into the common life of the Nation millions of newcomers from diverse cultures, speaking different languages and having different customs and folkways. They have been primarily responsible for creating an environment in which, during the last generation, about half of the population moved up to higher levels of affluence and responsibility than those attained by their parents, while only about a fourth moved down. And while serving the needs of society as a whole, they have also sought to serve Americans as individuals, offering them opportunities to develop their own special talents, pursue their own particular interests, and achieve their own personal goals.

The common characteristic in these enterprises has been responsiveness to society's evolving demands and expectations. Tomorrow's education can thus be expected to be shaped by tomorrow's society, and the new demands, new problems, and new aspirations it is heir to. Along the way, of course, it will be necessary to take care of some unfinished business, prominently including the challenge of educating *all* the Nation's children. We speak glibly of having universal elementary education in America, and statistically the statement is accurate, with 95 percent or more of the Nation's children enrolled in school. Results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress indicate, however, that about 20 percent of these children do not in fact acquire the skills and knowledge taught in the primary grades and are left unprepared to progress either in school or toward responsible adulthood.

Characteristically coming from homes of poverty where their parents have had little education, they are confronted when they enter school by formidable barriers. They encounter, for example, a curriculum (and a way of presenting it) developed to serve children from homes where the parents have already built a ground-work for schooling—by having books in the home, by reading aloud from them, by engaging the children in conversations that express orderly thought and draw on ideas, and by instilling confidence in their sons and daughters that they can handle school work. Boys and girls who have not received this kind of stimulation are likely to perceive school learning not only as overwhelmingly difficult but irrelevant to their lives. To enable them to absorb what the school seeks to teach requires the construction of a new kind of curriculum, the use of new kinds of teaching methods, and the development of approaches that engage these particular children at a level where they actually are and help them move forward in terms of their individual abilities and interests.

Another frustrating barrier standing in the way of such children is the continued use in many places of practices geared to an earlier time when the school's function was fully as much to sort students as to educate them. When the Nation was new, nearly 80 percent of the labor force was engaged in unskilled labor, less than three percent in professional and managerial occupations. Even so much as an elementary education was not necessary to be productive in primitive agriculture, manufac-

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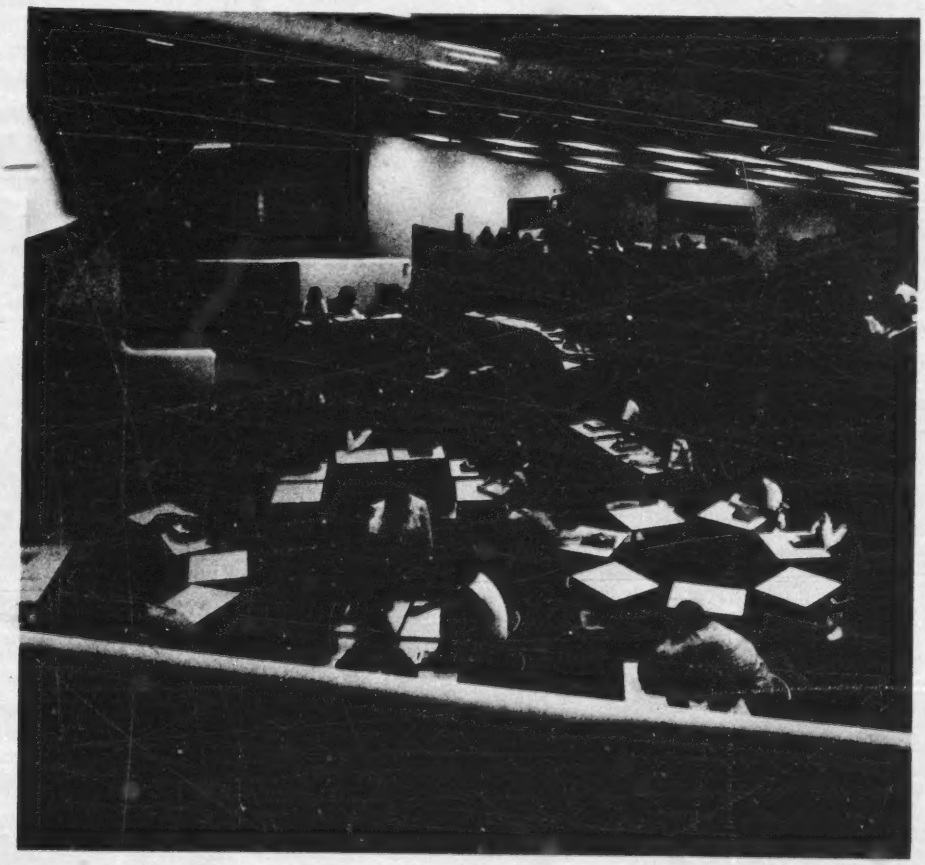
turing, and construction, and only a very few men (and no women) needed preparation for the professions. It seemed sensible, then, to ration education so that the numbers of people receiving different amounts of schooling would correspond roughly to the available opportunities. This sorting process was turned over to the schools, and it was accomplished by the classroom grades given out to the pupils. Marks of "excellent" or "good" served to encourage further education, while "poor" and "failure" signaled the advisability of trying something else. For the purpose at hand, this weeding out process was effective. In 1910, for example, about half of America's children had stopped their schooling by the age of 12 but still managed to find jobs of one kind or another. Only ten percent went on through high school, and only three percent graduated from college.

Societal demands today are of course vastly different. In 1970 less than five percent of the men and women making up the labor force were engaged in nonfarm unskilled labor, while more than 40 percent were engaged in professional, technical, and other occupations requiring more than a high school education. Toward meeting the needs both of the individual and of society at large, the schools are now expected to help every child achieve the full limit of his or her potential—a goal at odds with the continued use of a marking system that in effect tells many children to give up. Since 1965 national attention has been focused on finding ways of educating these youngsters, and progress slowly is being made. Significant improvements are nonetheless reported in only about one-third of the classrooms where there are concentrations of children from homes of poverty. The schools of tomorrow will be more fully responsive to this challenge, and we can expect the number of American children who are truly gaining a primary education to increase from the present 80 percent to at least 95 percent.

Going beyond education's unfinished business, a second major responsibility facing tomorrow's education is the orderly and effective transition of youth from childhood to constructive participation in adult life. As American society has become specialized and urbanized, young people have increasingly become more isolated from it. There are fewer responsibilities assigned to children as their contribution to maintaining the family, and fewer opportunities for them to help with their parents' occupations, to participate in adult social affairs, to try out adult roles, even to obtain part-time jobs. For earlier generations these were significant ways in which young people were aided in their progress to adulthood. Meanwhile, however, work left the home and farm to be carried on in factory and shop, and as it did so, concern

arose for the safety and welfare of the youth drawn to it. Among other things, that concern stimulated the enactment of laws strictly regulating child labor, raising the compulsory age of school attendence, and establishing minimum wages. Useful and even necessary though these statutes and regulations have been, they have coincidentally greatly limited the opportunity for young people to learn what work and adult life are all about. The net result of this forced isolation has been to alienate young people from the adult society, to delay personal and social maturation, sometimes to inhibit permanently the development of responsibility because of over-protection from the consequence of personal actions.



American society cannot long endure without a means for a peaceful and effective transition of youth into adulthood. As arrangements of the past have dissolved, new provisions must be constructed. In the Communist countries, this transition is largely the task of the Communist youth organizations that take over the activities of young people for several hours at the end of each school day and on holidays. A roughly similar function was performed in the United States during the Depression of the 1930s by the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, established as emergency measures to provide work for young people at a time of massive unemployment. Although these agencies aided great numbers of American youth, they were not well integrated either into the schools or the overall society, serving only low-income families and providing only a limited range of work experience. The needs of the future call for a

more permanent, more carefully planned approach that involves all youth in a variety of constructive adult activities in which they take increasing initiative and responsibility.

Many community institutions and organizations need to participate in endeavors of this sort, but the school is in the best position to serve as coordinator, to take the lead in drawing up appropriate plans, to help young people determine the particular programs best suited to their needs and aspirations, and to monitor these programs toward assuring their educative effectiveness.

Tomorrow's schools also can be expected to be deeply involved in the related issue of occupational education. Until the present century the number of different occupations was small, and the professions aside, most required very little training. Particularly during the past few decades, however, advances in science and technology have created thousands of jobs unknown to previous generations and requiring specialized knowledge and technical preparation. Thus the traditional usefulness of apprenticeship, which depends heavily on observing the master and emulating his example, has been significantly narrowed. One cannot easily observe what the master is thinking, and in any case new technology is likely to render his procedures obsolete. For a number of reasons, then, apprenticeship and on-the-job training have become inadequate to serve a large sector of young people.

The high schools face some critical difficulties in providing occupational education. A recent public opinion survey, to cite one example, showed that more than 90 percent of the parents wanted their children to go to college and that more than 70 percent expected them to do so. In most high schools, however, enrollment in vocational education programs means skipping the courses commonly required for college admission, and in this circumstance many parents insist that their children avoid vocational training. Many other parents do not raise that barrier, of course, but here too the situation is unsatisfactory, since the schools have difficulty in providing instruction and working laboratories that realistically respond to the range of jobs that are likely to be opening up. Communities that have a large fraction of young people wanting vocational education are typically those that can offer only limited employment opportunities. In rural areas, for example, more than 80 percent of the youth must go into the cities if they are to find jobs, but few if any rural high schools have personnel or facilities capable of providing education for most urban occupations, much less the time and opportunity to keep pace with the constantly changing character and requirements of those occupations.

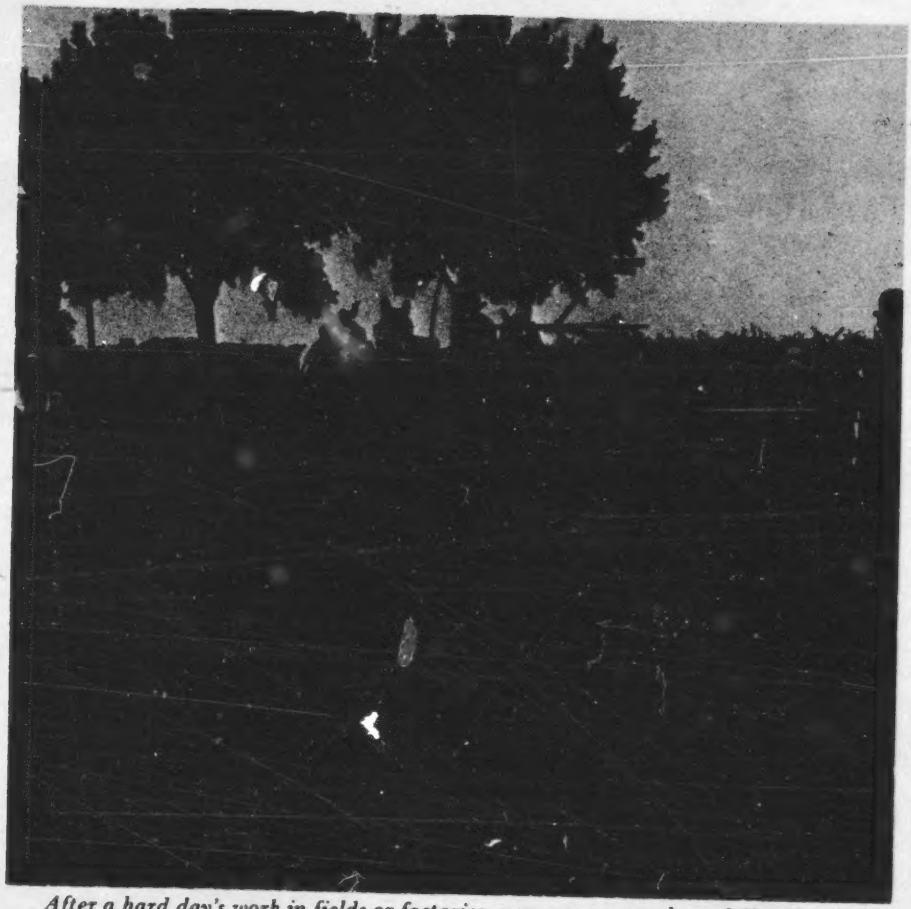
Within the cities and in rural areas alike there remains a problem pointed out in the 1962 report of the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education—that the youngsters most in need of vocational education in order to gain a permanent place in the labor force are those from low-income homes—the same youngsters that the schools have not been reaching. And there is the problem also of adults who need retraining because their jobs have been eliminated or sharply changed by technological innovations, a situation that few schools are really prepared to deal with.

The strengthening of occupational education thus must rank high on education's agenda for the future, and moves now under way in this direction can be expected to accelerate. One such move is the concept of "career education," advanced by Sidney P. Marland, Jr., when he was U.S. Commissioner of Education and now being pursued—with continuing stimulus from the Office of Education—in a number of States. Typically, the schools in these States follow a pattern by which, as part of the regular academic program, children explore the world of work in the elementary grades, systematically examine various possible careers in the junior high school years, and at the high school and post-high school levels are afforded opportunities to prepare for initial employment. Another move is the development in some high schools of a core of educational offerings for all students which assures that those who devote some of their time to vocational training are not thereby made ineligible for college. Meanwhile there is increasing interest in the expansion, both at the secondary and postsecondary levels, of "cooperative education," by which the student combines school and on-the-job experience.

Useful though such developments may be, however, it seems clear that for many young people, the problems of occupational education cannot be solved by the schools and colleges alone. Indeed, until industry, commerce, and public agencies join with our educational institutions in working out more effective ways for young people to gain initial employment and move ahead as they demonstrate greater competence and initiative, more than a third of the Nation's youth will never have a real career. As for the schools, they also will have to make considerable adjustments, not only by changes in the curriculum but by capitalizing on the resources represented by people and facilities outside the school. Toward that end, the schools will among other things establish flexible schedules so that young people may attend school part time while working full time, or perhaps drop out for a semester or two and then return, and so that adults may enroll at various periods in their lives to learn new or broader skills.

An equally compelling challenge to tomorrow's schools is that of character development. The schools have always played a part in this complex process, of course, but the more traditional sources of influence have been the home, religious institutions, and the neighborhood. In earlier periods of American life, newspapers and other publications gave wide circulation to prevailing concepts of integrity and moral conduct, and persons seen as being exemplars of strong character were pointed to as models for young people to emulate. In combination, these various forces helped young people expand their behavioral horizons beyond an impulsive, childlike concentration on the gratification of immediate needs. Together they promoted conduct guided by a more mature concern for what is good and proper, a perception of long range goals and accomplishments, a devotion to certain beliefs and ideals, and the courage to follow them in the face of conflicting pressures. As a reflection of the larger society, the role of the schools was to reinforce these concepts.

As America has become a more open, multicultural society, however, the values and influences of yesteryear have tended to lose their potence. Many parents no longer insist on a particular code of conduct. Both within the community and more especially through the mass media, young people are confronted by varied and sometimes conflicting views of acceptable behavior and standards of right and wrong. The religious institutions no longer exert great influence on the mass of children and youth. Recognition and respect are given to persons for kinds of achievements that have no



After a hard day's work in fields or factories, some youngsters have difficulty with night-school classes.

connection with moral values, and devotion to ethical standards and the courage to adhere to them seem no longer to be newsworthy. The result is a gap in young people's development that commands priority attention if our society is to remain stable.

Tomorrow's schools will of necessity play a vital role in filling that gap. More than any other contemporary social institution, the school lends itself to providing young people firsthand contact with a community in which each person is respected as an individual without regard to color or family income or religious or ethnic background, in which people sincerely care for one another, in which everyone is encouraged to participate and to share in the rewards of accomplishing, and in which justice and fair play are the norm. The schools of today are much more like this than were the schools of the past, and more of those of tomorrow are likely to thus exemplify the nature of a truly democratic society. In doing so they will also be called upon to encourage young people to identify the values involved in the situations they encounter and the actions they take, helping them learn how to anticipate the consequences of those actions and become sensitive to their effects on others. In these and other ways, the schools will be expected to make important contributions to character development.

Not just in this connection but as regards the learning process in general, tomorrow's education will begin early in the child's life. Self-motivation, attitudes toward others, the length of time that immediate gratification is postponed for more distant rewards, perceptions of complex phenomena, the ability to focus attention—all these are markedly influenced by the child's experiences in the period from birth to age five. Preliminary responses to this important fact have come in the establishment of Head Start programs and in the adoption by several States of legislation authorizing public funds for this purpose. The future will see a broadening of the effort and a refinement of it, so as to accommodate the variables involved. Some of the more obvious of these variables are the availability or unavailability of the mother in the home, family income, the amount of the mother's education, and the number of young children in the family.

It is unlikely that the schools of tomorrow will take over the early education of children whose mothers are able to be with them for most or all of the day, who interact with them in a coherent and logical fashion, and who give them encouragement and support while at the same time setting educational tasks that require concentration and effort. Where mothers are

away at work, however, and no substitute is able to provide such experiences, the schools can be expected to assume a main responsibility. Some will develop programs within school buildings, staffed by certified teachers. Some will involve mothers and show them how to provide constructive educational experiences in the home. Some will use adolescents and senior citizens and others as volunteer aides. All in all, early childhood education will become much more comprehensive and varied.

Also high on the agenda will be moves to find ways of forging stronger links among the schools and the other major institutions and organizations of the community. In part these moves will be dictated by the fact that as society's increasing complexity places an increasing premium on knowledge and skill, the demand for education will exceed the ability of the schools and colleges to handle the job alone. Even more important will be a growing recognition that the school can contribute substantially to the development of the community itself, and that the community can serve as a major learning resource—as an object of study, as a setting for instruction, and as a source of people in addition to teachers who have important skills to impart. Models of this kind of relationship already are available. In New York State, for example, Syracuse University is cooperating with neighborhood school systems in operating learning resource centers at which an impressive list of community organizations and individuals participate in offering instruction. Empire State University, a unit of the New York State University, capitalizes on a wide range of resources within the State to enable students to obtain a college education away from conventional campuses. The University Without Walls and other "open" institutions of higher education not only make similar use of resources outside the college campus but enable students to set schedules appropriate to their particular circumstances and changing interests, perhaps interrupting their study from time to time, establishing combinations of part-time and full-time study, and in general making themselves at home both in the community and in the pursuit of further education. Many more of these community-school developments will characterize tomorrow's education.

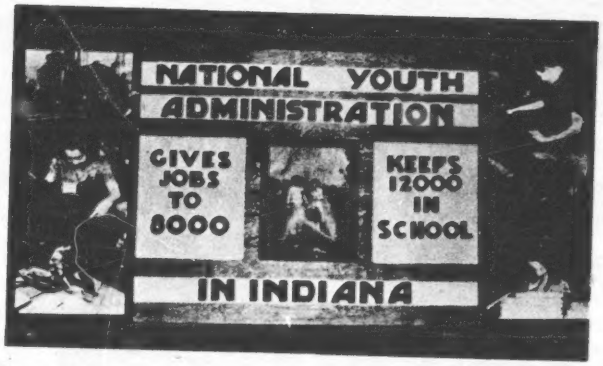
Concomitantly there will be an intensified movement to address the rigidity that has come to afflict the Nation's educational system as it has expanded and become more complex. The symptoms of this affliction are to be seen in an increased insulation of teachers and administrators from the community, the standardization of teaching approaches and procedures, a concern with material and status rewards at the expense of such intrinsic rewards as the satisfactions that come from seeing children learn and become more mature. Such developments are common features of large bureaucracies, and they result in inflexible institutions that are insensitive to the needs of the clients and unable to respond effectively to changing demands. Democracies achieve flexibility largely through maintaining an uneasy stability among the tensions that arise from the varying needs and goals of varying sectors of the society. The process is analogous to the existence of living organisms protected by semipermeable membranes that permit water, oxygen, and food to come in and wastes to go out. Thus they avoid the destruction that would result from complete openness and the suffocation that would ensue from an airtight enclosure. To achieve the equivalent of the semipermeable membrane the education system must be an alert participant in the larger society, sensitive to the interests of those it seeks to serve and ready to sift out those elements that are trivial or misguided and bring into focus for study and response those that are relevant and important.

Tentatively, at least, several approaches are now being tried toward counteracting the rigidity of our educational system, with results that to date have concededly been more promising than effective. The most common is the inclusion of parents and community action groups in the planning and evaluation of school programs. Another lies in decentralizing the administrative structure. Detroit, for example, is divided into eight regions, each of which has an elected school board with a considerable degree of autonomy. A third is to establish alternative schools that provide students and their parents with options; the Los Angeles City School District has 30 or more of these institutions. Another possibility is the proposal that parents be given vouchers that could be applied to the tuition at any accredited school. All of these approaches have at least as many weaknesses as attractions. For the alternative school, for example, it is no small task to attract sufficient students to operate within the public school district's average per-pupil costs and to recruit a full staff of teachers who are at the same time competent and congenial to the basic ideas involved. Such departures from tradition nevertheless serve to alert teachers and administrators that the schools of tomorrow will succeed only if they become more flexible, more sensitive, in effect more human.

There will also be a more extensive application of advances made in science and technology, continuing a trend that is now well established in the schools. The behavioral sciences in particular have had a significant influence. "Practice makes perfect," the 18th century teacher believed, insisting that the child repeatedly recite the alphabet, meticulously memorize the Scriptures, endlessly intone his sums—his enthusiasm stimulated where necessary by use of the hickory stick. These were the principles of teaching in schools where more than half the pupils dropped out after no more than three years of instruction. Psychological studies have long since documented the importance of motivation, of helping students perceive the significance of what they are trying to learn, of encouragement, and of relating classroom work to the realities of life outside the school. Such findings of social psychology will increasingly help to shape classroom procedures during the years ahead, particularly toward capitalizing on the demonstrated importance of the child's friends in determining school progress and in broadening the introduction of such practices as youth-tutoring-youth programs, cross-age teaching, group learning projects, and other enterprises that bring the dynamics of human interaction to bear.

Though the word "technology" understandably has sometimes raised the hackles of teachers, particularly when it has seemed to imply that education would somehow become completely mechanized, technological instruments and procedures properly applied will similarly assume greater importance in the classroom of the future, and their role today is not inconsiderable. Technology is part and parcel of the modern textbook and its accompanying exercise materials, and most teachers would agree that contemporary texts offer ways of stimulating and guiding learning far beyond anything available in the past. Similarly valuable are such varying products of technology as the increasingly sophisticated achievement and psychological test, the overhead projector (now used by teachers nearly as much as the blackboard), the tape recorder, and videotape equipment. The future can be expected to bring not simply a wider use of such products of technology but a broader understanding of their limitations as well as their potential, and of their appropriate role. Educational television, programed materials, and computer-assisted instruction have not replaced the teacher, nor will they. To learn to read, to acquire an understanding of the basic principles underlying a scientific phenomenon, to gain meaning and satisfaction from listening to a musical performance—such achievements have as their primary requirement a determined, sustained effort on the part of the learner.

Moreover, students need to gain recognition for successful performance, to be



given encouragement to try again when they are not successful, and to approach their work with a sense of their personal value as human beings. Perhaps there are students who are so strongly motivated and self-confident that they can fare reasonably well on their own. For the great majority, however, learning without human interaction can be tolerated only for short periods of time. For such students the teacher is irreplaceable, and technological devices can be helpful only insofar as they serve particular purposes within the teacher's overall strategy. Thus used they are without question very valuable. Certain kinds of information can be conveyed by instructional television, for example, far more vividly, more precisely, more clearly, and more convincingly than by a teacher's description. Programed materials are extremely helpful for certain kinds of step-by-step learning. Computer-assisted instruction can not only address an individual student's specific needs and deficiencies but analyze and synthesize his or her responses in numerous useful ways. Such products of technology can be expected to play an increasingly important role in the classroom—to the extent that they give greater play to the stimulation, encouragement, and guidance of human beings by taking advantage of the persistence, precision, and laborsaving characteristics of the machine.

In summary, the agenda of tomorrow's education will include the development of educational programs capable of reaching those thousands of children who today do not gain so much as a primary education, the establishment of approaches aimed at helping youth make a constructive transition to adulthood, and provisions for collaboration among the schools and business and industry toward enabling young people to find meaningful careers. It will include placing greater emphasis on character development, establishing programs for children who do not obtain adequate educational experiences in their homes, and enlisting other major social institutions to join in the educative process as part of the community school concept. There will be a conscious effort to reduce the bureaucratic rigidity of the schools, and the capability of the schools and colleges to respond to new circumstances will be enhanced by more widespread applications of science and technology.

In all these various ways education will build on today and yesterday to meet the challenges of tomorrow. As in the past, it will know its failures as well as its successes. Slowly on some occasions, rapidly on others, it will change—reflecting in either case the emerging requirements and goals of the larger society of which it is so integral a part. □

America's First Public High School

By 1821, men of commerce in this country and abroad recognized the superior docking facilities of the port of Boston, and to many of the town's 50,000 inhabitants the names of its wharfs—"Rowe's," for example, and "Lewis" and "T" and "Long"—were synonymous with earning a livelihood. For with them came a demand for skills of a more sophisticated character than the simple requirements of Colonial life. Competent chandlers, map makers, bookkeepers, and the like were hard to come by, however, for several generations of the town's youth had been left inadequately prepared to enter the vibrant life of the community in which they lived.

The system of public instruction at the time consisted of several primary schools providing rudimentary instruction for children from four to seven years of age and a few English grammar schools offering elemental studies for pupils up to age 14. And there was, of course, the renowned Public Latin School, founded in 1635. But the Latin School (long regarded as the preparatory school for Harvard) was essentially conducted for the "haves" of the town—the sons of the clergy and the bankers and the physicians. For the children of the artisans, the small merchants, the seamen, there remained only the school of life.

These were the circumstances that in 1820 led the Boston School Committee to form a subcommittee to consider the town's educational needs. Said its subsequent report:

The mode of instruction now adopted and the branches of knowledge that are taught at our English grammar schools are not sufficiently extensive, nor otherwise calculated to bring powers of the mind into operation, nor to qualify youth to fill usefully and respectably many of those stations, both public and private, in which he may be placed. A parent who wishes to give his child an education that shall fit him for active life, and shall serve as a foundation for eminence in his profession, whether mercantile or mechanical, is under the necessity of giving him a different education from any which our public schools can now furnish.

The committee therefore recommended "the founding of a seminary to be called the English Classical School," and at a town meeting held in Faneuil Hall on January 15, 1821, the citizens of Boston voted for its establishment. Thus was created the Nation's first public high school in the sense that we now use that term. (Its name, incidentally, was soon changed, the word "high" being substituted for "classical" and it was as English High School that it attracted national emulation.)

Now it happened at that time that a 23-year-old mathematics instructor from Harvard had reached a major decision in his career. George Barrell Emerson had suffered from failing eyesight for some time and his nature had taken a more contemplative turn than that of his more didactic fellows at the University. His favorite pastime consisted of engaging in conversations and reflections on the art of teaching with gentlemen of like temperament. As a consequence young Emerson formed the opinion that most of those practicing this art were at best ham-handed.

English High School as it appears today.

"I came to the conclusion," he wrote later, "that my former course as a teacher had been more savage and heathenish than Christian, and that if I should ever have another opportunity of teaching and governing boys, I would try whether they could not be managed by appealing to the highest motives by which human beings can be moved and to them alone."

It was with that determination in mind that he replied to an advertisement in the Boston *Sentinel* and was elected the English Classical School's first headmaster. Emerson regarded the opportunity as an experiment, and on the opening day of classes shared his educational credo with a sub-master, two ushers (assistant teachers), and an original student body numbering 102, all boys:

I intend to have perfect order.

I never intend to strike a blow.

I shall never doubt a boy's word until he proves himself a liar.

I shall never listen to one boy's word against another.

I shall not urge boys to surpass each other but every one of them to surpass himself; to be a better scholar and a truer gentleman today than he had been yesterday.

Fifty years later a member of that first class, the Honorable J. Wiley Edmands, compared his experiences in other Boston schools with his days at English High:

"In the former, the boys studied by compulsion; in the other, they were actuated by ambition to learn. In the one, the perfect recitation, word for word

from the book, was the task; in the other, a full understanding of the subject was the principal object. The one cultivated the memory; the other, the thinking and reasoning faculties. In the one, fear was the compelling motive of obedience to austere rule, in the other was mutual good will and mutual respect between teacher and pupil. In the one was the discipline of the ferule; in the other, that of reproof and advice."

The site of this enlightened approach to learning was a three-story brick schoolhouse located on Derne Street in a spot now occupied by the Massachusetts State House. The third floor was fitted with crude desks and benches of bare pine for the boys, while the master's desk of the same material was strategically located near the only source of warmth in the school, an open fireplace. The second story was occupied by grammar and reading schools. And on the ground floor (marvelous to behold) were stationed the Town Watch and Hero Fire Engine No. 6. It is recorded that occasionally the students found the lure of a fire considerably stronger than their thirst for knowledge. The kindly headmaster, however, never dealt harshly with such departures from perfect order.

The "ratio studiorum" included ancient and modern geography, history, algebra, elements of arts and sciences, sacred geography, rhetoric and composition, geometry, natural philosophy, literature and forensics, natural theology and moral philosophy, and "evidences of Christianity." In addition, reflecting a Yankee concern with practicality, there were heavy concentrations of navigation, bookkeeping, surveying, mensuration and astronomical calculations, and construction and use of mathematical instruments. And so for over a hundred years the curriculum remained (with the addition of modern languages), to the immense satisfaction of the community it served.

Town pride in the school was given a special push by a strange thing that happened almost with the first graduating classes. Although the school had been conceived of as a terminal education – with the boys studying for three years (or less) and then taking jobs – so well did the faculty perform its task, so infused with the "spirit of English High School" were the youngsters who studied there, that the universities and colleges found its graduates as well prepared for higher studies as any who had attended the public and private preparatory schools. Nor did it fail in its original objective. Within a few years, positions of power in the areas of public service,

Boston's English High School (circa 1821) from sketches by former pupils.

banking, commerce, and the trades were filled from the ranks of English High School men.

Starting in about the 1860s, the population of the city (and the student body of English High School) began to take on a more cosmopolitan complexion. Names like O'Connor, Duclos, Weiscopf, and Bornstein appeared with increasing frequency among the formerly Anglo-Saxon class rosters and graduation lists. People at all levels in all sections increasingly looked upon English High as their own special school, the key to social and economic ascendancy for their children in the new land.

In one respect the Boston of a century later differed little from other urban centers across the country. The growing affluence of the middle class, the proliferation of private and parochial secondary schools, the flight to suburbia had left behind a secondary school population with entirely different needs than those which English High had by that time been meeting for 140 years. Thus in a circular twist of history, the Boston system faced the same basic problem in the 1960s that the town fathers had addressed in 1821. Talented but trapped, a child of black, Spanish-speaking, and blue-collar white families had little in the way of a "mode of instruction to qualify youth to fill usefully and respectably many of those stations both public and private, in which he may be placed."

Supported not only by minority groups, but also by generations of the school's alumni, a movement developed which resulted in the construction in 1973 of a new "home" for English High – a ten story high-rise in the heart of Boston's richest complex of educational and cultural institutions. Its program design centers around the development of a fine arts - career education curriculum. The goal is to provide a valid response to the needs of the community's youth, for there is among Boston's young people a broad range of creative talent in the areas of painting and sculpture, music, and drama. Thus as it has been since 1821, Boston's English High School is seeking to provide "the towne with graduates of honor and achievement."

—ROB CARROLL
Assistant Director of Staff Development, Boston Public Schools

Discovering America

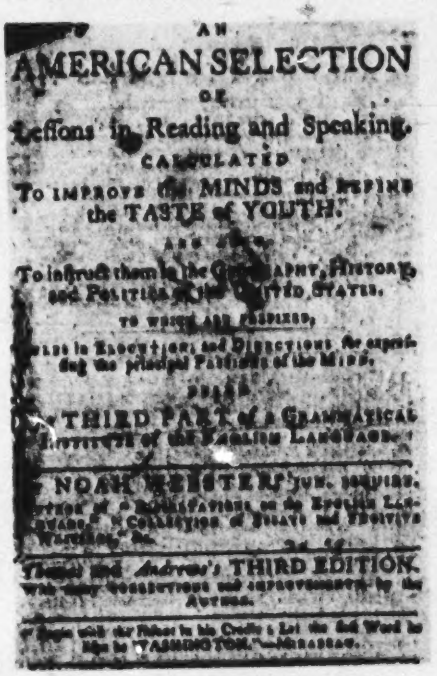
In the beginning they were sometimes hardly larger than a three by five file card. As they grew in size and number, they told us who we were as a people and as a Nation. They defined us. They provided reassurance, inspired fear, and were relentless in their determination to lead us to virtue and success in this life and (in their early versions, at least) salvation in the next.

Perhaps inspired by the lessons learned from them, thousands of Americans will mark the Bicentennial by visits to the Nation's historical shrines and monuments. The Boston Commons and Bunker Hill, Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, Mount Vernon and the Lincoln Memorial. Even the first visit will be like a return. Still, many will doubtless fail to recall where they first heard about the great places of America and about the heroes and patriotism that inspired them.

Come to think of it, where *did* we first learn about Paul Revere, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin? Where did we find them, sketched in larger than life proportions, and when did we form such lasting impressions of them? Over a span of nearly 300 years, where did we find this common bond of understanding and reverence? How does it happen that the Pilgrims, New Amsterdam, and the Virginia settlers seem about as real to us as they must have seemed to school children in the Republic's earliest years?

The answer is of course the American schoolbook, the textbook. Not the broadcast media or even the daily newspaper (although they have certainly helped) but those "Guardians of Tradition," as the writer Ruth Miller Elson called them—classroom texts, dating from the *Horn Book* and the *New England Primer* and extending in an unbroken flow of type to the handsomely bound, colorfully illustrated series of our own day. With major assists from the adoption of free public schools, and later compulsory school attendance laws, they shaped the learning process in the United States, and to a significant degree the character of the Nation itself.

In the beginning, their function was not so much to educate as to indoctrinate, and in fact indoctrination remained a chief—if not *the* chief—purpose until modern times. For the first settler, the purpose in living was to save one's soul. The Bible was the instrument of salvation. Obviously, to know the Bible it was necessary to be able to read it. Logically and inevitably then, concern for literacy became secondary only to satisfaction of the basic needs of food and shelter.


AN
AMERICAN SELECTION
OF
Lessons in Reading and Speaking,
CALCULATED
To IMPROVE the MINDS and REFINE
the TASTE of YOUTH.
AND ALSO
To instruct them in the GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY
and POLITICS of the UNITED STATES,
TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
RULES in ELOCUTION; and DIRECTIONS for expressing
the principal Passions of the MIND.
BEING
THE THIRD PART of a GRAMMATICAL
INSTITUTE of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE.
By
NOAH WEBSTER, Jun. ESQUIRE.
Author of a DISSERTATION on the ENGLISH LAN-
GUAGE, A COLLECTION of ESSAYS and PROSE
WRITINGS, &c.
Thomas and Andrews's THIRD EDITION.
With many ALTERATIONS and IMPROVEMENTS by the
AUTHOR.
Begin with the Bible in the Cradle; Let the first Word he
lisp be "WASHINGTON."—MESSAGE.

The first textbooks to become widely used were not readers—they came a little later—but "spellers," almost as if the Colonists had taken literally the opening statement of the Gospel according to St. John: "In the beginning was the Word. . ." St. John was hardly talking about spelling, but in Colonial days and well into the 19th century, words as such were seen as the beginning of learning. Long lists of words, multisyllabic and often esoteric, with little if any attention paid to their meaning and none of the modern publisher's concern for levels of ability and interest.

Each speller (and the subsequent readers and geographies and penmanship texts and others) was the product of an individual author. Today's school children doubtless have no notion of the names of the writers responsible for the array of textbooks they use, but even so they have probably heard of Webster and McGuffey. They would not be so at ease, however, with the casual organization of the early spelling texts. One author might decide to expand his speller by including the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, or both. Another, not to be outdone, would introduce some moral tales and perhaps even a little arithmetic.

In any case, the textbook determined what the teacher taught and what the students were expected to learn. The approach was memorization. Prodded by the teacher, the scholars painfully worked their way from one lesson to the next, repeating the words aloud so endlessly that by the end of the term they had theoretically absorbed every page. Well, actually, not *every* page. Some they were blessedly allowed to skip. These were the pages given over to advertisements of other works available from the publisher, well larded with glowing recommendations of their value—testimonials, we would call them—from presumably distinguished experts. A work by John Jenkins entitled *Art of Writing*, published in 1813, included 329 such endorsements!

Nor were any readers left in doubt as to what they were likely to encounter between the (usually leather) covers of a text. The title of Noah Webster's blue-backed spelling book, for example, was *An American Selection of Lessons In Reading and Speaking Calculated to Improve the Minds and Refine the Taste of Youth. And Also to Instruct Them In the Geography, History, and Politics of the U.S. To Which Are Prefixed Rules In Elocution, and Directions for Expressing*

NEW Third School Reader

BY

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410

the Principal Passions of the Mind. Being the Third Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language. Such resounding titles seemed to give books an extraordinary stability. Webster was able to describe the 1809 edition of his text as the "Thirtieth Revised Impression," three million copies of which had already been sold by that time.

It is noteworthy that Webster emphasized that his reader contained an "American" selection of lessons. The earlier textbooks had of course been imported from England or reprinted from English editions, and thus reflected British standards and verities. The outbreak of the Revolution rendered them instantly obsolete. They were "un-American," at least to the extent that they failed to properly portray the British in general and the king in particular as rogues and villains. So in the function of the textbook as indoctrinator, a layer of politics was for a time placed on top of the more fundamental purpose of seeking "to improve the Minds and Refine the Taste" of young people.

Toward this latter end the 19th century schoolbooks showed a world in which hard work and virtuous living always led to success and happiness. The scale of values in such a world held that virtue was of greater worth than intellect. While literacy was acknowledged to be essential, scholarship was suspect. By 1850 the rigid dogma of particular religious sects had given way to more generalized concepts o. morals and ethics, with the emphasis being shifted to *individual* virtue and goodness. The idea nevertheless persisted that the essence of learning was not the acquisition of knowledge as such but preparation for a noble life. Admirable though our forefathers were, however, it is difficult to believe that they acquired their virtue solely from their schoolbooks. The contributions of McGuffey's texts were without question great, but their contents would in fact seem to have been far over the heads of their youthful readers. A modern analysis of the volume in his series addressed to second-graders, for example, showed the vocabulary to be at the eighth-grade level of difficulty, suggesting that youngsters 140 years ago either were a collection of whiz kids or that they found McGuffey's works gibberish. That the latter was the case would not really have mattered much, however, since the essence of schooling was not so much to impart knowledge and understanding as to winnow out those youngsters unable to survive the discipline of endless memorization. Nevertheless the texts did serve as warehouses for contemporary "truths" and as a source of authority for both teachers and parents. They thus performed a powerful and useful function, for whatever the faults of rote memorization, the intermingled facts and fancies contained in the early textbooks became fixed in the national consciousness.

Perhaps the most basic of the truths they sought to convey centered around the proposition that rural people were inherently "better" than urban people. In the country, a person's character was formed by nature, with the result that he wasn't likely to get smart-alecky, like those city slickers. Becoming wealthy was fine, in fact admirable, so long as it didn't involve becoming citified. In general, the ideal American was a male white Protestant who made his living by farming.

Such indoctrination has largely faded with the passage of time, and for that matter the word "textbook" itself has become less than satisfactory in identifying

the array of separate instructional products—something over 300,000, according to reliable estimates—from which the teacher can now select. New dimensions have been brought to the classroom by such advances as films and videotapes, and the computer has led to the concept of the learning "system." With the textbook as the core, a system may include integrated supplementary films, activity books, programed texts, manipulative devices, workbooks, and simulation kits. "Feedback"—another computer borrowing—is built into the system in the form of tests which the pupil scores to discover almost immediately if learning has occurred or whether "recycling" is required. Diagnosis and progress checks at frequent intervals help both teacher and pupil identify areas where further study or instruction is needed.

"Supplementary" is the key word. Supplementary to what? Why, to the basic (or basal) textbook. Studies in child development have documented the fact of individual differences: In any group of individuals, whatever their age, there will be a range of abilities, aptitudes, interests, and experience. The textbook may be designed for an "average" fifth grade, with content scientifically selected to interest youngsters in the 9-to-11 age range. But the reality is that for some of those fifth-grade pupils the content will be overly simple, while for others it will be much too challenging. Enter, then, the supplements, which widen the range and increase the depth to an extent beyond the capacity of any single textbook.

Meanwhile the preparation and content of instructional materials have become far more complex than in the formative years of our Nation's life. Whereas the early authors wrote or assembled the entire content of their works, today's text is the end product of a team of researchers, curriculum specialists, subject matter specialists and editors. Webster and McGuffey could hope to include in a few small volumes all the knowledge considered necessary for their pupils; such phenomena as the industrial revolution, the age of technology, and the "knowledge explosion" lay far in the future. Today's fourth- or fifth-grade pupil, however, may spend an entire school year studying the history of one State or exploring a single aspect of mathematics or literature. Similarly, the teacher will probably use completely separate textbooks for arithmetic, reading, science, and health. The spellers and readers of the 18th and 19th centuries made a Nation literate through a smattering of reading selections, arithmetic, and history that theoretically summed up all that mankind had learned. Today's primary school child may be grappling with the basic concepts of our economic system.

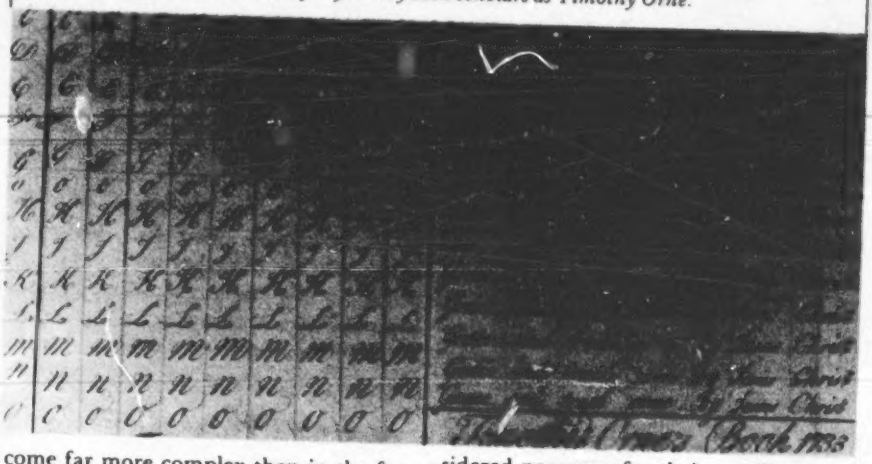
In any case, despite television, despite the proliferation of films and filmstrips and magazines and paperbacks, the textbook itself remains the basic instrument of how and what Americans learn. It is worth noting that during the past 20 years the number of textbooks has more than tripled. Scientifically planned as to grade level, copiously illustrated, built on researched formulas, they continue to serve the basic unifying and organizing functions established by Webster and McGuffey and the others—the fundamental introduction to the American way of life.

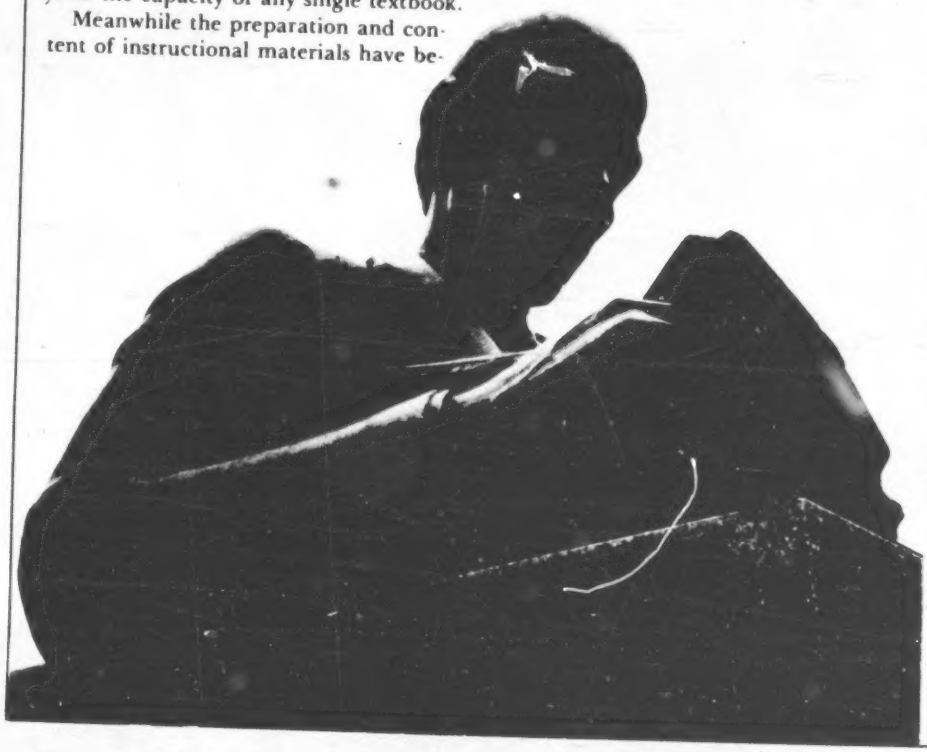
—RICHARD C. SPITZER
Manager, Government Affairs
Science Research Associates, Inc.

Fingers firmly gripping the thin shaft of a quill pen, many a student in an early American school labored over his copy book, tracing the elaborate dips and swirls of the ABCs and struggling with the accompanying writing exercises.

Each page of the large, clothbound text contained examples of the exacting script of the teacher. On blank lines below the teacher's writing, the students meticulously sought to achieve the same effect, repeatedly tracing garnished letters of the alphabet and copying sentences of a relentlessly uplifting tone. Hour after hour they toiled, and some of the more gifted among them ultimately went on to achieve calligraphy so ornate as to be virtually unreadable.

The reward for this drudgery was the book itself, page upon page of the most elegant penmanship, often cherished for years by such scholars as Timothy Orne.





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